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MIDDLE INDO-ARYAN STUDIES VI[1]

By

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1. Pā. *ibbha-* ' an Ājīvika '

In a number of passages in the Pāli canon occurs the phrase *muṇḍakā samanakā ibbhā kinhā bandhupādâpaccā* as an expression of abuse. It is used with reference to the Sakkas (D i 90 103)[2], the bhikkhus (D iii 81 M i 334), and Mahākaccāna (S iv 117). The cties all gloss *ibbhā* : *gahapatikā*, and clearly this would make some sort of sense in the context, just as it is related (Vin iv 91) that a certain Ājīvika accused the Buddha of being *muṇḍa-gahapatika-* (' a shaven householder ').

Modern translators have not, however, followed the cties exactly in their translations. T. W. Rhys Davids (*Dialogues of the Buddha* i 112 and 128) translated ' menials ', but later (ibid. iii 78) both ' vulgar rich ' and ' menials ' on the same page though it can hardly mean both at the same time. Lord Chalmers translated ' men of substance ' (JRAS 1894 p. 343) but later ' riff raff ' (*Further Dialogues of the Buddha* i 241). F. L. Woodward translated ' menials ' (*Kindred Sayings* iv 73) and was followed in this by Miss I. B. Horner (*Middle Length Sayings* i 397).

The word *ibbha-* also occurs (J vi 214) in the verses:

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[1] See JOI, Vol. XIII, p 208, note 1 and Vol. XV, p. 113.

[2] The abbreviations are those employed in *Pāli Tipiṭaka Concordance* (= PTC).

yathāpi ibbhā[1] *dhanadhaññahetu kammāni karenti puthū pathavyā* |
tevijjasaṅghāpi tath' eva ajja kammāni karenti puthū pathavyā ||
ibbhā hi ete samakā bhavanti, niccossukā kāmaguṇesu yuttā |
kammāni karenti puthū pathavyā tad appapaññā dirasaññu ārā ||

The cty (p 217) glosses *gahapatikā*, and Cowell and Rouse translate 'householder'. The context here makes it clear that we are to take the word in the sense of 'wealthy man' (cf. *Pāiyalacchīnāmamālā* 101 *ibbhā* = *aḍḍhā, dhaṇīno*), or better still 'merchant' (cf *Deśīnāmamālā* i 79 *ibbho* = *vanio*). Despite Hemacandra's view that the word is *deśī*, there seems to be no reason for doubting that one meaning is a simple semantic development from the other.

Although PED does not record the fact s. v. *ibbha-*, the word also occurs in the Pāli canon in the compound *brāhmaṇibbha*-(*J* vi 223 228-30), which is glossed by the cty (p. 229) (*brāhmanesu ca*) *gahapatikesu ca*, and translated by Cowell and Rouse as 'wealthy men' (= pp. 223 and 230) and 'rich men' (= pp. 228-9). The same compound also occurs in Aśoka's Fifth Rock Edict in combination with the unexplained word *bhaṭamaya-*, the whole being interpreted by some as a reference to the four castes. So Woolner (*Aśoka Glossary* s. v. *bambhana-*) translates 'vaiśya-', though Bloch (*Les Inscriptions d' Asoka*, p. 104) prefers to leave it untranslated.

There are, however, indications that *ibbha-* cannot be synonymous with *vaiśya-*. Insufficient attention seems to have been paid to the fact that the reference in D i 90 is followed by further references to *ibbha-*. We read (D i 91) that there are four classes, and of these *khattiyā ca vessā ca suddā ca brāhmaṇassa paricārakā sampajjanti*, but (D i 91-2) *Sakkā ibbhā santā ibbhā samānā na brāhmaṇe sakkaronti mānenti pūjenti apacāyanti* i e. *ibbhā* and *vessā* are clearly not the same. We further read (D i 91-2) *idaṃ paṭhamaṃ, dutiyaṃ. tatiyam Sakkesu ibbhavādaṃ nipātesi*, and (D i 92) *atibāḷhaṃ Ambaṭṭho Sakkesu ibbhavādena nimmādeti*, which makes it clear that in the abusive phrase the operative word is *ibbha-*, and the other words are merely epithets qualifying it. Since one of the words is *samaṇaka-*, which would hardly be used of a householder, this meaning for *ibbha-* here can be ruled out. *Samaṇaka-* seems to imply that *ibbha-* is a member of a religious sect. Which?

I would suggest that *ibbha-* is used in its original, etymological sense of 'connected with elephants' and therefore 'member of an elephant sect'. It is well-known that the elephant has some symbolic significance in Buddhism, and since the Sakkas were followers of the Buddha it would not be inappropriate to call them 'elephant men'. However, the whole sense of the phrase which includes the word *ibbha-* is clearly intended to be insulting, and since Aśoka would

[1] This reference is not given in PTC (Vol. I, p. 364), where the identity of the references is masked by faulty quotation.

hardly have referred to the Buddhists in an insulting way in a Rock Edict, we can assume that the *ibbhā* were not Buddhists. In support of this conclusion, it can be said that if the *ibbhā* were Buddhists, and if at the time of Aśoka this name were well-known, as it must have been for Aśoka to use it, then it is most unlikely that its meaning would be entirely lost in the commentarial tradition.

I assume therefore that the insult in using the name *ibbha-* for the Sakkas lay in the fact that they were not *ibbhā*, and would resent being called by the name of another sect, just as we read (Vin iii 212) of naked bhikkhus annoyed at being mistaken for Ājīvikas. Professor Basham has shown[1] that there are reasons for believing that the elephant was also an Ājīvika religious symbol, and if the meaning 'Ājīvika' is adopted for *ibbha-*, then certain in circumstantia. evidence can be brought forward in support of this. The compound *brāhmaṇibbha-* in J vi 223 is used of the crowd of people surrounding Guna the Ājīvika as he preached, and it would be quite appropriate for some of these to be co-religionists. [The other uses of the compound in the same Jātaka are indecisive, since they refer to those who approved of various personages while they were virtuous, and those the personages were concerned about while they were virtuous and not concerned about while they were not virtuous. In this connection, it can only be said that 'member of a religious sect' would make good sense in each context, while 'rich, wealthy men' makes less good sense.]

Since the Fifth Rock Edict and the Seventh Pillar Edict seem to refer to the same events, we may observe that in the former Aśoka tells of appointing mahāmātras to look after various groups: *bhaṭamaya-*, *baṃbhanibha-*, *anātha-*, *vudha-* (adopting the spellings of the Kalsi version). In the Pillar Edict, the same event is referred to in the order· *saṃgha-*, *bābhana-*, *ājīvika-*, *nigamtha-*, *pāsamda-*. Since I have indicated elsewhere[2] my belief that *vudha-* and *pāsaṃda-* are the same, and I aim to show below that *anātha-* and *nigaṃtha-* are identical, then *ibha-* and *ājīvika-* would coincide. There is even syntactical support for the identification, for Basham (loc. cit p. 149) has drawn attention to the close relationship between the brāhmaṇas and the Ājīvikas implied by the syntactical relationship of the two names without *ca* in the Pillar Edict. The same consideration would apply even more to the dvandva compound *baṃbhanibha-* in the Rock Edict and *brāhmaṇibbha-* in the Jātaka.

We may then not be far from the truth in assuming that *ibbha-* = 'member of the elephant sect' = Ājīvika. There are of course other references to elephant sects in Indian literature, and it is worthwhile considering these to see if they support or refute the proposed identification. The long list of sects in *Ovavāiya sutta* 74 includes the name *hatthitāvasa-*, and the name is repeated in

[1] *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas*, pp. 154 and 209.

[2] In *Note on the Aśokan Rock Edicts*, to appear in the Indo-Iranian Journal.

the similar lists in the *Pupphiyā*[1] section of the *Nirayāvaliyāo* and in *Vivāhapaṇṇatti* XI. 9.[2] The same name in its Skt form *hastitāpasa-* is found in Hemacandra's *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (X.7. 330).[3] Abhayadeva's cty to the *Ovavāiya-sutta* gives the explanation *hatthitāvaso: yo hastinam mārayitvā tenaiva bahuṃ kālaṃ bhojanato yāpavati,* which is presumably based upon the statement *saṃvaccharenavi ya egam egaṃ bāṇena māreu mahāgayaṃ tu, sesāna Jivāna dayaṭṭhayāe, vāsaṃ vayaṃ vitti pakappayāmo* (*Sūyagḍaṃga* II. 6. 52). It should, however, be pointed out that this remark is ascribed to the *hatthitāvasas* not in the canonical text itself, but only in the later *nijjutti* (v. 190). The sentiment is not exclusive to any one sect, but merely reflects the belief that in striving towards total *ahiṃsā* it is better to kill one animal a year rather than many, *i.e.* the sentiment which Aśoka expressed in Rock Edict I carried to its logical conclusion. There is nothing here to prove that the statement represents the main tenet of the *hatthitāvasas*, and since the author of the *nijjutti* is wrong in ascribing an earlier view in the same section of the text to the *Ekadandins*,[4] he may be wrong here, and may have been misled by the coincidence *hatthi-/gaya-*.

The *hatthitāvasa* could then have been Ājīvikas, but surprisingly PSM (s. v.) gives the meaning *Bauddha sādhu-viśeṣa.* This is probably based upon the cty quoted in AR (s. v.) *hastinaṃ vyāpādyātmano vrttiṃ kalpayatsu bauddhasādhuṣu.* Although the beginning of this gloss is identical with Śīlāṅka's Ṭīkā as printed in the Śrī-Goḍīpārśva Jaina Granthamālā edition of *Sūyagaḍamga*, the reference to the Buddhists does not occur in that edition, and I am uncertain as to its provenance. In any case too much emphasis should not be placed upon Jaina commentarial tradition, since individual sects are not very reliable when it comes to distinguishing between their rivals. Furthermore, Basham quotes examples (loc. cit. pp. 107, 135, 204) of Ājīvikas and Buddhists being confused.

I should like to include here another possible reference to an elephant sect in the Aśokan inscriptions. The Yerraguḍi version of Minor Rock Edict II contains the group *hath yārohāni kāranakāni yūgyācariyāni lambhanāni* all of whom have pupils. The first word is usually translated 'elephant riders', but this is certainly inappropriate in the same context as *baṃbhana-* I suspect that there is here a scribal error, showing the writing of *-o-* for *-ā-* which is seen, for example, in *ārodhe<ta>ve* in MRE I at Rupnath, where the other versions have *ārādh-*. The comparable word in MRE II at Rajula Mandagiri is unfortunately illegible (see Epigraphia Indica, Vol. XXXI, p. 217) so it is not

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[1] *Suttāgame*, ed. Pupphabhikkhu, Vol. II, p. 776

[2] Ibid. Vol. I, p. 626.

[3] Dr. Helen M. Johnson's translation Vol. VI (- GOS No. 140), p. 188.

[4] See H. Jacobi. SBE XLV, p. 417 note 6.

possible to say whether this error was introduced by the scribe at Yerraguḍi, or whether it was already in the version he was copying. If the correct reading were *hathiyā āhāni*, then *ārāh-* could be a form of *ārādh-* 'propitiate, worship' showing the development of *-h-* < *-dh-* (cf. *upadah-* < *upadadh-*, *vidah-* < *vidadh-*, *nigoh-* < **nigrodh-* in the Pillar Edicts). The compound would then mean 'elephant worshippers'.

If this derivation is accepted, then *kāranakāni* and *yūgyācariyāni* are probably religious sects too. The former name ('causationists') could be used of both Buddhists and Jains. What we know of the Eastern Pkt underlying the Aśokan inscriptions (Old Māgadhī ?) enables us to say that in it the equivalent of Skt **yogyācārya-* would be *yogiyācariya-*. Since the scribe responsible for MRE II at Yerraguḍi seems generally to have retained such resolved consonant groups (*cf. ācariya-*, *kaṭaviya-*, etc.), we can probably surmise that the version he was copying did not contain *yogiyā-*. If, however, it contained *yogā-* (which could theoretically stand for *yogā-* or *yoggā-*) the scribe might have been induced to interpret it as *yoggā-*, which he wrote as *yūgyā-*, because the mis-spelt word *hathiyārohāni* had already given him the impression that this part of the edict was about animal-riders and trainers.

If the correct interpretation is *yogā-*, the *yogācariya-* would mean 'teacher of *yoga*'. Since the Buddhists from the first practised *yoga*, as E. J. Thomas has pointed out (*History of Buddhist Thought*, pp. 42 *ff*), and later has a school of Yogācāras, this name could refer to them, or perhaps more widely to any sect which practised *yoga*.

I conclude therefore that Pā. *ibbha-* has two meanings in the canon:—

(1) 'rich/merchant', found only at J vi 214.

(2) 'member of a particular religious sect', possibly the Buddhists, but more likely the Ājīvikas. This sect was perhaps identical with that called by the name *hatthitāvasa-*. It is recognised that, as a result of this identification, *bhaṭa-naya-* (or *maya-*, if *bhaṭa* is to be separated from it) in the Fifth Rock Edict must probably mean 'Buddhist'. If this is so, then the tentative explanations I have given elsewhere (loc. cit.) must be abandoned.

2. AMg *aṇāha-* 'a Jain'

The twentieth chapter of the *Uttarajjhayaṇa-sutta* tells a story of King Seṇiya of Magadha meeting an ascetic and asking him how it was that he, previously a nobleman, was now an ascetic. The ascetic replies *anāho mi, mahārāya, nāho majjha na vijjai* (v. 9). The king asks *kaham nāho na vijjaī ? homi nāho bhayatāṇaṃ* (vv. 10-11). He is told *appaṇā vi anāho si. appaṇā aṇāho santo kassa nāho bhavissasi :* (v. 12). Thinking of his great wealth, Seṇiya asks *ka'haṃ aṇāho bhavai?* (v. 15). The ascetic then says *na tumaṃ jāṇe 'aṇāhassa' atthaṃ potthaṃ ca, patthivā, jahā aṇāho bhavaī saṇāho vā. soṇeha..*

jehā aṇā'ho bhavai (vv. 16-17). He then relates how he had formerly suffered severe pains, from which doctors, father, mother, brothers, sisters, and wife had all been unable to relieve him, each statement of their inability being given the refrain *e ā majjha aṇāhayā*. He then tells of the way in which he realised the difficulty of bearing pain again and again in the *saṃsāra*, whereupon his pains left him, and he became a monk. He concludes (v. 35) *to haṃ nāho jāyo appaṇo ya parassa ya*. Then follows an interpolated section (vv. 38-53), and the original story is resumed when the king says *aṇāhattaṃ jahābhūyaṃ suṭṭhu me uvadaṃsiyaṃ* (v. 54) and says of the ascetic *tubbhe saṇāhā ya sabandhavā ya* (v. 55) and *taṃ si nāho aṇāhāṇaṃ savvabhūyāṇaṃ* (v. 56).

It is clear that *anāha*, is being used here in two meanings. The ascetic begins by telling the king that he is *aṇāho*, but when Seniya has heard his story he says *tubbhe sanāhā*, which must be the equivalent of Skt *sanātha-* and mean 'with protectors' since it is linked with *sabandhavā* 'with relatives'. As used in v. 9, then, *aṇāha-* must mean something other than 'without protector,' and I suggest that the ascetic is beginning his reply to the king's question by stating the sect he belongs to. If we consider the existence of Skt (lex.) *nāha*-binding, tying, obstruction' (MW Skt Dict.), then *aṇāha-* would mean ' Without binding, etc. ' and would be the exact synonym of *nirgrantha-*. The ascetic's reply to the king is therefore 'I am a Jain ; I have no impediments', but the king's misunderstanding of the word *aṇāha-* enables the ascetic to make a punning discourse on the two meanings.

Such a pun would be possible only in a dialect where *-th-* > *-h-*, as in AMg. If it were translated into any other dialect the speaker would have to choose between saying *aṇāha-* and *anātha-* or *anādha-*, and the pun would be lost. Faced with making the choice, it is likely that a speaker would choose the meaning with which he was most familiar, and it would not be surprising to find that the Jains' reference to themselves as *aṇāha-* was completely misunderstood, and they were thought to call themselves *anātha-*, which of course in itself is not entirely inappropriate as a description of an ascetic. There are in fact several contexts in Indian literature where *anātha-* may well stand for 'Jain'.

It may, for example, be suspected that in the Pāli canon the exhortation to the bhikkhus *sanāthā viharatha, mā anāthā* (A v 23 25 29) is a request to live like Buddhists, not Jains, but this is merely conjectural. A more likely example is in connection with the phrase *ajaddhumārikaṃ marissati* (A iv 283 287 324), which is explained in the cty as *anāthamaraṇaṃ*. Since the related word *ajaddhumāri* (J vi 63) is explained as *anāsakamaraṇaṃ*, it may be that this is a reference to the typical Jain ritual suicide by starvation. In the Kumbhajātaka (512) Sakka outlines the dangers of intoxicating drink *yaṃ pitvā*..

anāthamāno upagāti naccati (J v 16) where *anāthamāno* is glossed *nir avassayo anātho viya*, and may be taken as the participle of a denominative verb from *anātha*- 'acting like an *anātha*-'. The next verse states *yaṃ ve pivitvā acelo va naggo ca eyya gāme*, and since both *nagga*- and *acela*- are used by the Buddhists as names for various sects (cf. Basham loc. cit. pp. 96–7), it is not unlikely that *anātha*- too was a reference to a rival sect. In fact the combination of singing and dancing is reminiscent of the behaviour of Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta in a delirium produced by drinking strong drink just before his death, as related in the *Vivāhapaṇṇatti* (XV, quoted by Basham loc. cit. p. 62). Since Basham has pointed out that the Pāli records seem to confuse the deaths of Mahāvīra and Gosāla (loc. cit p. 75), we are probably correct in assuming that *anātha*- in *anāthamāna*- stands for 'Jain' which is a mistake for 'Ājīvika'. In view of the Jain reference to *ājīviyasabhā* (*Uvāsaga-dasāo* 214) is it possible that Skt *anāthasabhā* (which with *anāthakuṭī* is found in the cty on Pāṇini II. 4. 24) is also an example of *anātha*- = 'Jain' in mistake for Ājīvika' ? The two sects are frequently confused as Basham notes (loc. cit. pp. 9(, 138 *ff*).

The most likely example, however, of *arātha*- = 'Jain' is in Aśoka's Fifth Rock Edict where, as mentioned above, neighbouring words seem to refer to religious sects. We do not know if Aśoka himself was aware of the real meaning of the Jains' name, or whether he too thought they were 'protectorless', since there is no way of deducing the form of the word in the original draft of Aśoka's proclamation. We cannot tell whether Aśoka said *anātha*- or *anāha*- nor, if the latter, whether it was a definite attempt to say the Jains' name, or because in Old Mg -*th*- became -*h*-. Consequently we cannot say whether the regional versions of RE V have taken over *anātha*- unchanged from their exemplar, or whether all the scribes restored *anātha*- because that is what they thought the correct form should be. It would be ironical if, because of the pun which was possible upon their name in their own AMg dialect, the Jains were mistakenly called *anātha*- in every other dialect.

A NOTE ON THE WORD ŚVETABHIKṢU*

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The Pañcatantra (Textus Simplicior, Bombay Sanskrit Series) III. 76 reads as follows—

नराणां नापितो धूर्तः पक्षिणां वायसस्तथा ।
दंष्ट्रिणां च शृगालस्तु श्वेतभिक्षुस्तपस्विनाम् ॥

Almost all the translators of the Pañcatantra have translated the word *śvetabhikṣu* (lit. ' white mendicant') in the above verse as ' a white-robed Jaina monk'. While I was engaged, a few years back, upon a translation of the Pañcatantra—with comparative notes pertaining to all the older versions along with an exhaustive Introduction—for the Gujarāti Sāhitya Parishad, I felt that this could not be the correct translation of the word. I was able to show that the Textus Simplicior was, most probably, prepared by a Jaina writer (Introduction, pp, 26-29), and it was difficult to believe that such a derogatory reference would creep in his version.

My surmise was strengthened, when I found the same verse, with slight variation, in the Pañcākhyāna (1199 A.D.) of Pūrnabhadra (Textus Ornatior, Harvard Oriental Series), III. 66—

नराणां नापितो धूर्तः पक्षिणां चैव वायसः ।
चतुष्पदां शृगालस्तु श्वेतभिक्षुस्तपस्विनाम् ।

It is well known that Pūrnabhadra was a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk of the Kharatara Gaccha and a pupil of Jinapatisūri

What, then, is the meaning of the word *Śvetabhikṣu* ? According to Jacobi, quoted by Hertel in the word-index to his edition of the Pañcākhyāna, *śvetabhikṣu* is the same as *paṇḍarabhikkhu* (Skt paṇḍurabhikṣu ' white mendicant') referred to in the Samarāicca Kahā of Haribhadrasūri (8th century A D.). It appears that Hertel has quoted Jacobi from personal correspondence Exact reference of the Samarāicca Kahā could not be given there, as the Pañcākhyāna was published in 1908, while Jacobi's edition of the Samarāicca Kahā (Bibliotheca Indica, no. 169) was out in 1926.

Literally the word *paṇḍarabhikkhu* should be considered synonymous with *śvetabhikṣu.* It occurs, at least, once in the Samarāicca Kahā—

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दिट्ठो य णेण पियवयंसओ **नागदेवो नाम पण्डरभिक्खू**। वन्दिओ सविणयं । कहवि पच्चभिन्नाओ भिक्खुणा । (p. 552)

Some more details about this class of mendicants are found a little later:—

नागदेवेण भणियं । वच्छ, इमं चेव भिक्खुत्तणं । पडिस्सुयमणेण । **साहिओ से गोरसपरिवज्जणाइओ निययकिरियाकलावो** । परिणओ य एयस्स । अइक्कन्ता कइवि दियहा । दिन्ना य से दिक्खा । करेइ विहियाणुट्ठाणं ॥ (p. 553)

Regarding the same mendicant initiated to the religious order by Nāgadeva, it is said on the next page—

वियलिओ झाणासओ, उल्लसिओ सिणेहो । 'समासस समासस'त्ति **अब्भुक्खिओ कमण्डलुपाणिएणं** । (p. 554)

These references show that this class of mendicants abandoned eating of curds etc. and that they kept a *kamanḍalu* with them. This would not fit in with the description of a śvetāmbara monk.

The cūrni (circa 7th century A. D.) on the Niśīthasūtra makes a clear statement that the *pandarabhikkhus* were the pupils of Gosāla, that is, mendicants of the Ājīvaka sect—

आजीवगा गोसालसिस्सा **पंडरभिक्खुआ** वि भण्णंति ।

(Vijayapremasūri's edition, Vol. IV, p. 865)

In Jaina Canonical literature the word *panḍaranga* (mendicant having 'whitened limbs') is employed synonymously with *panḍarbhikkhu*. It occurs in the Anuyogadvāra sūtra (sūtra no. 288, ed. of the Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya, Bombay)—

से किं तं पासंडनामे ? २ पंचविहे पण्णंत्त । तं जहासमणए **पंडरंगए भिक्खू** कावालियएं तावसए ।[1]

Maladhārī Hemacandra, the Sanskrit commentator of the Anuyogadvāra Sūtra, includes the Ājīvakas among the Śramaṇas, and adds that the *pāṇḍurangas* etc. are the followers of other heretical sects—

अत्र ' निग्गंथ सक्क तावस गेरुय आजीव पंचहा समणा ' इति वचनाद् निर्ग्रन्थादिपञ्चपाषण्डान्याश्रितः श्रमण उच्यते । एवं नैयायिकादिपाषण्डमाश्रिताः **पाण्डुरंगादयो** भावनीयाः ।

(Devachand Lalbhai ed., p. 146b)

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[1] The cūrṇi on the Anuyogadvāra sūtra explains the word *panḍaranga* as *sasarakkha* (Skt. *sarajaska*, lit. 'dusty'). Muni Kalyāṇavijayaji, in his Hindi book, Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra (p. 28), hazards a guess that the Ājīvikas were probably naked mendicants ; they used to rub their bodies with ashes or some sort of white dust as a protection against cold, and possibly that was the reason why they were called *panḍaranga* or *sasarakkha*

Maladhārī Hemacandra wrote his commentary during the 12th century; some of the older traditions regarding heretical sects might have been forgotten by his time when Ājīvakas who claimed to be followers of Gosāla were probably nowhere to be seen, and it is likely that he might have made some mistake in explaining the word *paṇḍaraṅga*. But what is pertinent to our present purpose is that he has considered *paṇḍaraṅga* to be a follower of a *pāṣanda* or non-jaina sect.

The word *paṇduraṅga* also occurs in the Bhāṣya (verse 107) on the Jaina canonical work, Oghaniryukti. Describing some bad omens while a Jaina monk enters a town or village for spending the rainy season, the author says—

चक्कयरंमि भमाडो, भुक्खामारो य पंडुरंगंमि ।
तच्चन्निअ रुहिरपडनं, बोडियमसिए धुवं मरणं ॥

"If he meets a disc-bearing mendicant he may have to wander (during the rainy season), if he meets a *paṇḍuranga* he may have to endure starvation, if he meets a Buddhist monk, he may suffer blood-shed, and if he meets a Digambara and *asita* monk he might die indeed".

We also find references in Pāli literature to *pandaraṅga* and *paṇḍaraṅga-paribbājaka* which corroborate the view that śvetabhikṣu is not a Śvetāmbara Jaina monk.[1]

The Dīpavaṁsa (vii. 35) mentions *pandaraṅgas* among those who lost all personal gains and honour when those that were real Buddhists came to be honoured—

पहीन–लाभ–सक्कारा तित्थिया पुथु-लद्धिका ।
पण्डरङ्गा जटिला च निगण्ठाऽचेलकादिका ॥

"The Heretica with various heretic views who lost all personal gains and honour, were *paṇḍaraṅgas*, jaṭilas (those who kept matted hair), nirgranthas and those who wore no garments at all and the like".

Samanta-pāsādikā (*i.* p. 44), commentary on Vinaya, mentions them with this further additional information that they belonged to the Brāhmanical types of ascetics—

ब्राह्मणानं च ब्राह्मण–जातीय–पासण्डानं च पण्डरङ्गपरिब्बाजकादीनं...
(Samanta-pāsādikā, i. 44; Kosambi's Bāhiranidāna-vaṇṇanā, p. 41).

Sārattha-dīpanī (Sinhalese edition, p. 106), a sub-commentary on Samanta-pāsādikā, comments on the same as follows :—

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[1] I am indebted to Prof. P. V. Bapat for drawing my attention to these references in Pali literature.

ब्राह्मणानं ति पण्डरङ्ग-परिब्बाजकादिभावं नूपगते दस्सेति. पण्डरङ्ग–परिब्बाजकादयो च ब्राह्मण–जातिमंतो ति आह–ब्राह्मण–जातीय–पासण्डानं ति. एत्थ वन दिट्ठि–पासण्डादीनं ओड्डनतो पण्डरङ्गादयो पासण्डा ति वुत्तम्.

"Brāhmaṇas, that is, (the author) implies 'those who have not become wanderers of the *paṇḍarangu* class. The wanderers of the *paṇḍaraṅga* class belong to the class of the Brāhmanas'. Here *paṇḍaraṅgas* are called heretics because they lay down for themselves snares of heresies".

Dhammapada-Aṭṭhakathā (iv. p. 8) also says—

पण्डरङ्ग-पब्बज्जं पब्बजित्वा.............

"Having become a recluse of the *paṇḍaranga* order.... "

This discussion would show that the word *śvetabhikṣu* in the Pañcatantra, III. 76 cannot be interpreted as 'a white-robed or Śvetāmbara Jaina monk'. *Śvetabhikṣu* was an adherent of a non-Jaina sect, and was also called *paṇḍara-bhikkhu*, *paṇḍaraṅga* or *pāṇḍuranga*, and *paṇḍarangaparibbājaka*. The commentary Sārattha-dīpanī on the Pāli text Samanta-pāsādikā, refers to *paṇḍaranga* as 'a Brāhmanical heretic', while a fairly old Jaina work like the Niśītha Cūrṇi considers him identical with an Ājīvaka mendicant. But this is a separate line of investigation, and one would need to have some more data to place either of these two identifications beyond doubt.

THE APABHRAṀŚA ELEMENTS IN THE MṚCCHAKAṬIKA

By
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There are certain Apabhraṁśa (Ap.) forms in the Mṛcchakaṭika, which deserve more than a passing glance. They occur chiefly in the speeches of Māthura and sporadically in those of Saṁvāhaka. In the speeches of Śakāra and the pair of Caṇḍālas the Ap. feature is noted only for a few occasions. In seeking the justifiability of occurrence of such forms in the Mṛcchakaṭika it is necessary for one to ascertain the dialects, which are ascribed to the above—referred characters.

According to Pṛthvīdhara, the noted commentator of the Mṛcchakaṭika, Śakāra, a prominent figure of the drama, speaks Śākārī, the pair of Caṇḍālas speak Cāṇḍālī and Saṁvāhaka, who in his early life appears as a gambler but becomes a Buddhist monk later speaks the Māgadhī dialect. Māthura, the chief of the gambling house, speaks a dialect, which is called Ḍhakkī.[1]

The analysis of the language, as done by the scholars, shows that Śākārī, the speech of Śakāra, and Cāṇḍālī, the speech of the two headsmen, are not different from Māgadhī ; even if these Pkt. dialects once possessed features distinct from those of Māgadhī, they were so insignificant that they could not attribute to these speeches the stamp of individuality. It virtually shows that the above-stated characters spoke only two dialects, namely Māgadhī and Ḍhakkī.[2]

The Ap. features, which sporadically appear in Māgadhī, the speech of the abovestated characters viz. Śakāra, Samvāhaka and Caṇḍālas, cannot normally claim an access into the speech. The appearance of Ap. characteristics in this speech (Māgadhī) cannot be reasonably explained, unless the phenomenon be the product of imperfect transcription of the mss. of the work by the careless transcribers. If such forms really emanate from the dramatist and are genuine then the author's linguistic skill and acquaintance with such speeches become liable to be called into question. In the case of the speech of Māthura, however, one cannot make such a sweeping remark.

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[1] The statement stands :
samvāhakaḥ śakāra-vasantasenā-cārudattānām ceṭakatritayam bhikṣuścārudattadārakah ete ṣanmāgadhipāṭhakāh | apabhraṁśa-pāṭhakeṣu śakāri-bhāṣā-pāṭhakah rāṣṭriyah | cāṇḍālībhāṣā-pāṭhakau cāndālau | ḍhakka-bhāṣā-pāṭhakau māthuradyūtakarau |

[2] The following observation of Keith should be noted . "The Śākārī of Samsthānaka is nothing more or less than Māgadhī, which is given as the language of that person by the Nāṭyaśāstra, and the Cāṇḍālī is another variety of that Prākrit. Thus the rich variety reduces itself in effect to Śauraseni and Māgadhī with Ṭakki, of which we have too little to say precisely what it was." —Sanskrit Dramas p. 142.

Pischel considered Ḍhakkī, the language of Māthura, an Eastern speech and connected it with Ḍhakka—a city of East Bengal. According to his estimate the geographical position of the language was highly suggestive of its being a transitional speech between Māgadhī and Apabhraṁśa.[3] Basing on Pṛthvīdhara he states that the chief feafure of the language was that there occurred here the preponderance of the *l*-sound and both the dental and palatal sibilants (*s*, *ś*) were found to exist without being transformed into a single type. Pischel deplored that the condition of the mss. and also the text of the work did not help one to secure a clear picture of the language.

Grierson unhesitatingly rejected the views of Pischel. According to him Ḍhakkī has got nothing to do with Ḍhakka (Dacca) and it is not an Eastern speech. It is a western speech and should be called properly Ṭakkī or Ṭākkī. Keith while indicating the views of Grierson seems to have tacitly supported the same.[4] To us the situation appears to be otherwise. The language of Māthura is not a homogenous speech and as such, it cannot claim affiliation to any territory. It is a hybrid speech. It maintains the features of several dialects like Śaurasenī, Māgadhī and Apabhraṁśa A close investigation might show the traces even of the Māhārāṣṭrī Pkt, but which of these is the basic speech cannot be stated readily without standing the risk of being involved in contradiction from some quarter.

As we are concerned here only with the Ap. features we refrain from being involved into any kind of controversy stated above We intend to discuss all the Ap. forms, which appear in the drama and ascertain to what extent the speech influenced the work The forms, cited here, if not otherwise mentioned, are taken from the work, published from the Nirnaya Sagar Press, Bombay. The edition of Godbole is not available to us. We do not possess any edition, which is furnished with the variant readings. Had such a text been available, our study would have been more comprehensive and accurate.

In Ap. the *a*-stem in the nom. sg. masc. possesses the termination *–u*. This is noted in some instances, which are being mentioned : *daśasuvannāha luddhu jūdakaru papalīṇu papalīṇu* (II. p. 52). 'The gambler detained for ten gold coins has run away, has run away.' It is to be noted here that Karmarkar reads *judakalu* for *judakaru*, which appears in others. *dhuttu jūdakaru vippadīve-*

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[3] The following statement of Pischel is to be noted

"Nach Ḍhakka im östlichen Bengalen weist der Name der Ḍhakkī, die in der Mṛcchakaṭika Māthura, der Besitzer eines Spielhauses, und der ihn begleitende Spieler sprechen. MK. RV. und Pṛthvīdhara zu Mṛcchakaṭika rechnen die Dhakkī zu den Apabhraṁśa—Dialekten zusammen mit der Śākārī, Caṇḍālī und Sābarī. Entsprechend ihrer geographischen Lage ist sie ein Ubergangsdialekt zwischen Māgadhī und Apabhraṁśa." Grammatik der Prākrit Sprachen. p. 25.

[4] Keith, Sanskrit Drama p. 142.

him pādehim deulam pavittho (II. 54). 'The wicked gambler has entered the temple with retrograde steps.' *vippadīvu pādu* (II. 54). 'The steps are retrograde'. Here the form is singular but it conveys the sense of the dual. *ko dosu* (II. 56) 'what harm'. *ekāha addhe gamthu kaḍe* (II. 57). 'A pledge was given for one half to one of these'. It should be noted that Paranjape maintained this reading of the underlined word but instead of the anusvāra he put the dental nasal *n* (*i.e.* as *ganthu*). Curiously this did not occur in the texts of Kale and Karmarkar, who gave *gaṇḍe* instead. Evidently if this reading be correct it should not be mentioned here.

One should note further the following : *dhuttu māthuru aham ṇiuṇu* (II. p. 57). 'I am cunning Māthura clever enough.' We have taken the word *dhuttu* here as an adj. of Māthura, which the latter spoke about himself in course of asserting his cleverness. This is done in pursuance of the interpretation of Karmarkar. But others take it as a vocative case and the same was addressed to Samvāhaka by Māthura. But our interpretation finds support from the fact that in some other passages also Māthura has spoken himself clever and put the same term before his name.[5] *tue dasasuvaṇṇu kallavattu mae esu bihavu* (II. 61). 'To you ten gold coins may be a trivial thing—but to me it is a treasure.' *aham pi nāma māthuru dhuttu jūdam mitthyā ādamsaāmi* (II. 62). 'I am also the cunning Māthura and in vain make the practice of gambling (unless I realise the money).' *bhūdam tue gamthu* (II. 70). 'Your pledge is cancelled'. As before here too Paranjape supports this reading but he has substituted the anusvāra with the class-nasal *n*. But both Kale and Karmarkar have read the word *gaṇḍe* in the place of this *gamthu*. *sumalidavvā ajjaäe ede akkhalu* (II. 71). 'These words are to be remembered by the noble lady.' Here the word *akkhalu* is sing. in form but it is plur. in meaning, which is well indicated by the demonstrative adj. *ede*.

In the nom. sg. the neuter bases also show this termination *-u* in Ap. This is to be found in the following instances : *paḍimāsuṇṇu deulu* (II. 54). 'The temple is bereft of an idol.' *silu paḍadi* (II. 56). 'The head bends down'. Here it is to be noted that the word *siras* originally a *s*-stem of Skt. becomes modified into an *a*-stem with the shedding off of the final consonant.

In the acc. sg. masc. the *a*-stem possesses the same very termination *-u*. The instances are : *ale gamthu kulu kulu* (II. 56). 'Oh make a pledge'. As in the previous instances here too Paranjape supports this reading but both Kale and Karmarkar read *gaṇḍe* for this *gamthu*. *addhassa gamthu kalemi* (II. 56). 'I make a pledge for the half'. *pidaru vikkiṇia paaccha* (II. 57). 'Make the payment (of the amount) after having sold your father'. Here

5 The line II. 62, which is quoted below, justifies the statement.

the stem is *pidara-*, which develops from the Skt. stem *pitṛ-* and as such it is considered as an *a*-stem. *mādaru vikkiṇia paaccha* (II. 58). 'Make the payment after having sold your mother'. Here the stem *mādara-* appears as an *a*–stem though it develops originally from the *ṛ*–stem of Skt. It is surely a faminine stem but it has taken the masc. termination *-u*. This is consequent upon the fact that the rigidity of gender was considerably slackened in Ap.[6] which evidently opened scope for the annexation of the masc. termination to the feminine bases.

In a few places we find the word *esu*, which is a pronominal form conveying the sense of the 'near demonstrative'. *tue dasasuvaṇṇu kallavattu mae esu viharu* (II. 61). (translated above). *esu pekkhissam* (II. 63). 'I—this one shall see'. Pischel has mentioned this word as Ḍhakkī[7] and taken notice of it. The termination *-u* which this word possesses unmistakably points to its maintaining the Ap. feature. This very word with the transformation of the sound *s* into *h*, which is occasionally noted in Pkt., develops into *ehu* and the same occurs as a regular Ap. term. In any case it is possible to recognise it (*esu*) as the immediate predecessor of *ehu* testifying to its claim to be considered here as an Ap. form. The word *tuhum* -the nom. sg. form of the second person appears in: *kassa tuhum tanumajjhe aharena radadaṭṭha duvvinīdena/ jampasi maṇohalavaanam*..II. verse 16 (P. 70). 'Oh thin–waisted lady ! to whom are you speaking with your lower lip bitten in amorous sports and uncontrollable?' In the verbal inflection too we find the trace of an Ap. form. In Ap. the ending for the 2nd pers. sg. of the imperative is *–u*, which is noted in the following: *kaledha pasādam/nedha maṁ lāja-maggam / pasaru*[8] (II. 58). 'Be pleased, take me to the king's highway. Alright proceed'.

The use of the non-inflected form is a peculiarity of the Ap. speech. Here we find for the first time the march of the Aryan speech towards the analytical stage. In Ap. according to the statement of the grammarians[9] only the nom. acc. and the gen. cases are permitted to shed off terminations, but the actual condition of the speech shows that the non-inflected forms may appear in all the cases. This unscrupulous disintegration of the terminations

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[6] Hemacandra in his Prākrit grammar describes the phenomenon by the sūtra "*liṅgam atantram*" IV. 445, which he clarifies in the words "*apabhraṁśe lingamatantraṁ vyabhicāri prāyo bhavati*". Here Pischel comments: "In Ap. ist das Geschlecht noch schwankender als in den übrigen Dialekten, wenn auch durchaus nicht ganz regellos, wie Hc. 4.445 meint. In Versen entscheidet oft das Versmass und der Reim über das Geschlecht." Grammatik § 359. Trans In Ap gender is more unstable than in the remaining dialects, though not absolutely irregular as Hemacandra opines in 4.445. In verses the metre and rime are more decisive than the gender.

[7] Grammatik § 426

[8] *ibid* § 467.

[9] Hemacandra, Prākrit grammar, IV. 344, 345.

is frequent in the later Ap. texts, while the earlier ones make a very restricted use of this feature. In the Mṛcchakaṭika too we find some instances, where the case-forms are characterised by the absolute disintegration of the termination-elements.

It is to be noted here that the Mṛcchakaṭika bears evidence for the use of such endingless forms, which appear mostly in the nom. and the acc. cases Such basic forms, it should be pointed out, are manifest in the speeches of all the afore-mentioned characters. As such it is not possible to attribute it to Ḍhakkī alone, which is conspicuous by the unrestricted absorption of Ap. features and where the occurrence of the present phenomenon is absolutely natural, but also the speech Śākārī of Śakāra and Cāṇḍālī of Caṇḍālas, whom we have identified with the same very Māg. speech, have not remained immune from this engulfing tendency.

Let us cite examples in support of our proposition. The loss of inflection in the nom. is to be found in the forms *paṁcajjana*, *gāma*, *caṇḍāla* and *ṇala*, which occur in the verse :

> *Paṁcajjana jena mālidā itthia māhia gāma lakkhide* ।
> *avale ka caṁḍāla mālide avasam vi śe ṇala śagga gāhadi* ॥
> (VIII. 2. p. 186)

Certain variants :

Pañcajjaṇa (Karmarkar and Paranjape)
Pañcajana (Kale) ; *avala* (Karmarkar);
a (for *ka*, Kale & Paranjape)
caṇḍāla (Kale, Karmarkar, Paranjape).
avaśam (Paranjape)
nale (for *ṇala*, Kale).

Trans : That very person, by whom the five men are killed, the village is saved after having killed the woman and further somewhere the caṇḍāla is murdered, certainly goes to heaven.

Here one should note that the variant *avala* of Kale also presents an instance of endingless form occurring in the nom. like others cited here. Again the reading *ṇale* of Kale, for which we have read *ṇala* and which we have cited above as an evidence for the loss of case-termination, bears the nom. ending *-e*, current in the Māgadhī dialect. If this reading be current, the word should be removed from the list. The same feature *viz.* the loss of termination in the nom. should again be observed in the forms *śila tuṇḍa* and *citta*, which occur in the verse :

> *śila mumḍide tumḍa mumḍide*
> *citta ṇa mumḍide kīśa mumḍide* ।
> *jāha uṇa a citta mumḍide*
> *śāhu śuṭṭhu śila tāha muṁḍide* ॥ (VIII. 3.186)

Variants :

mundide, tuṇḍa (Kale, Karmarkar, Paranjape). Kale once writes *muṁḍide* and wrongly inserts *ṇa* in the second line between *citta* and *muṇḍide.*

Trans : The head is shaved and the face is shaved ; but if the heart is not shaved (purified), then what is the good of shaving ? But if a man has got his heart shaved then his head is excellently shaved.

Here the forms, which are stated to have rejected terminations in the nom., are unmistakable and these are attributed to Saṃvāhaka, after he turned a Buddhist monk.

A form of the past participle, which stands in apposition with the nom. and is characterised by the disintegration of the case-termination, is to be found in the following, which is attributed to Śakāra :

eśe mae śevidu gamdhajuttī
kadham ṇa hagge madhulaśśalettı ।

(VIII 13. p. 194)

Trans. . I have taken this fragrant mixture, why should I then not be sweet-voiced ?

It should be observed that the form *śevida,* which does not show any termination after the stem, may be assumed as to have rejected the case-termination. But we may take it otherwise, which does not leave any scope for this kind of assumption The word *śevida,* it is evident, stands in apposition with *gandhajutti,* which is in the fem. It being consequently feminine shows the shortening of the final long vowel *ā* in Ap. *i.e.* *śevidā* becomes *śevida*[10]. Such a development bestows upon the word appearance of a non-inflected form, though it is actually inflected. But whatever might be the situation the Ap. feature of the word cannot be denied in any case.

The Mṛcchakaṭika bears some evidence of the loss of the inflection also in the acc. In the verse VIII. 2, quoted above, we note the words *ittha* and *śagga,* which bear this feature. We find the same phenomenon in the speech of the caṇḍālas too, who say :

takkim ṇa kālaya kālana ..(X. I. p. 259).

Trans. What then ? do not seek the reason...

Here the word *kālana,* which is in the acc., is conspicuous by the absence of the termination. The phenomenon is unmistakable and does not leave any scope for doubt about its real character.

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[10] In Ap. in the nom. sg the feminine ā-stem shows the shortening of the final long vowel. As a result of this shortening in the same very case the fem. *ā*-stem ends in *-a* *i.e.* *latā* becomes *laa*. This shortening, it should be noted, is permitted by Hem who describes the phenomenon by the sūtra "*svādau dīrgha-hrasvau*" Pkt. gr. IV. 330.

We have taken notice of all the Ap. forms, which we have been able to detect. There might be others, which have escaped our notice There are some again, which are of dubious nature. These are avoided as these are likely to raise controversies. As we have stated before, the occurrence of the Ap. forms in Ḍhakkī—the speech of Māthura does not raise any problem Because this dialect Ḍhakkī, which is identified with *Ṭakkī* or *Ṭākkī* by Grierson, is commonly acknowledged as being subject to an influx of Ap. influence.[11] But the infiltration of Ap. features into the speeches of Saṁvāhaka, Śakāra and Caṇḍālas, which we have identified as the same very Māgadhī dialect, is not ordinarily expected and the same remains a problem demanding a probe into the matter. By analysing the Ap. features, which appear here in the speeches of these characters, we see that the forms, which are admitted as to have imbibed the Ap. influence, are mostly those, that have rejected the terminational elements. Now the use of the endingless forms is a peculiarity of all the spoken dialects—the current speeches, which betray an inclination to refuse the rigidity and control of grammar. Such a situation is suitable surely for the use of non-inflected forms. The speech Māgadhī and others perhaps maintain this Ap. feature due to its closeness to the spoken Māg. dialect This we present in the form of a suggestion and may be accepted until a better explanation comes forward for the solution of the problem.

[11] Pischel's statement is to be noted here, which is given in the foot-note (3). That calls it a transitional speech between Māgadhī and Apabhramsa bears testimony to occurrence of Ap. features in Ḍhakkī.

THE TWOFOLD STRUCTURE OF THE BUDDHIST SAṀGHA

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I

In early Buddhism, Buddha's followers were divided into four groups, namely Bhikkhu, Bhikkhunī, Upāsaka, and Upāsikā. But these groups are called Parishads.[1] So they are not the Samghas. The term Saṁgha includes only the Bhikkhu-saṁgha and the Bhikkhunī-saṁgha. But we find another use of the term in the Three Jewels: Buddha, Dhamma and Saṁgha-Ratanas.

But here it is not clear whether, in the Saṁgha-Ratana, laymen are contained or not. According to Ratana-Sutta,[2] in Suttanipāta, only the four pairs of the eight groups of Nobles are praised as the members of the Saṁgha-Ratana. So *Samgha Ratana* means *Ariya samgha* and laymen would be excluded from it. Even Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis were not always Nobles, most rather were ordinary people, and ordinary Bhikkhus and Bhikkhunis could not be contained in the Samgha-ratana.

The term "Saṁgha" in Buddha's time indicated two saṁghas: the Bhikkhu-samgha and the Bhikkhunī-samgha. These two saṁghas remained in contact with each other through the eight Garudhamme and the Bhikkhunī-saṁgha received the instructions of and the superintendence of the Bhikkhu-saṁgha in matters of Upasampada, Uposatha, Vass-retreat, and in the learning of Suttas and Vinaya. So the rank of the Bhikkhunī-saṁgha was lower than that of the Bhikkhu-saṁgha.

The Bhikkhunī-saṁgha, however, managed its own affairs by self-government and had a dwelling place apart from the Bhikkhu-saṁgha so that in these respects the Bhikkhu-samgha and the Bhikkunī-saṁgha were independent of each other. The systems by which both these saṁghas were run, however, were fundamentally the same.

In the Vinayapiṭaka the system according to which the Bhikkhu-saṁgha is to be run is fully elaborated. Specific mention is made of the Bhikkhunī-samgha only in those cases where its rules differ from those of the Bhikkhu-saṁgha. Therefore, in this paper the author would like to elaborate the twofold structure of the samgha specifically as this applies to the Bhikkhu-saṁgha.

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[1] Aṅgutta-Nikāya, vol. IV p. 166 ; T. No. 1435. vol. 23 p. 370 c.

[2] Ratana-sutta, Suttanipāta II, 7. v. 227.

II

The "twofold structure" of the Saṁgha means that it included the Sammukhībhūta-saṁgha and the Cātuddisa-saṁgha. The Saṁgha's activities cannot be explained adequately unless we admit this twofold structure

Initially, the sammukhībhūta-saṁgha, meant the saṁgha formed by the Bhikkhus living simultaneously at one given place. The minimum or "quorum" for this sort of saṁgha was four Bhikkhus. If there were four or more Bhikkhus living at one place, they had to organize a saṁgha, and manage all the affairs, of their daily lives according to the Saṁgha-kammas.

They were required, to form into a saṁgha, by the Rule of Vinaya. That meant that any food received by the saṁgha had to be divided among the Bhikkhus according to the Saṁgha-kamma, similarly, any cloths received were to be divided according to the Saṁgha-kamma.

Also they had to perform the Uposatha ceremony every fortnight according to the Saṁgha-kamma rules. They were not permitted to perform the Uposatha, individually. According to Uposatha-kkhandhaka of Vinayapiṭaka, the Saṁgha-Uposatha ceremony had to be performed in accordance with the rule of Uposatha-kamma.[3] And in that ceremony the Pātimokkha was to be recited. All the members of the saṁgha were to gather and join in the ceremony. Any Bhikkhu who was ill or who had some undeferable private business was permitted to be absent from the ceremony. But he had to send a declaration to the saṁgha along with a substitute. In this declaration he was to show his purity by averring that he had not violated the rules of Patimokkha. Such a declaration was called the Parisuddhi.[4]

If no one undertook to be the substitute of the sick Bhikkhu or to deliver his Parisuddhi, then he had to attend the Uposatha himself, even if he was seriously ill. The saṁgha was not permitted to open the ceremony as long as there was some Bhikkhu absent without notice. If a Bhikkhu's illness was so serious that he could not be moved then the saṁgha had to go enmasse to the place where he was lying, and perform the Uposatha at his bedside.[5] It was the duty of all Bhikkhus to attend the Uposatha. Therefore it was up to the samgha to determine the boundary within which all Bhikkhus were to gather. According to the Uposatha-kkhandhaka a boundary may be settled upon having as maximum a breadth of three yojanas. As long as this upper limit

[3] Mahāvagga II. Vinayapiṭaka vol. I. p 102, T. No. 1428. vol. 22. p. 817b;

[4] Mahāvagga II, Vinayapiṭaka vol. I. p 120; T. No. 1428. vol. 22. p. 822a; T. No. 1421. vol. 22. p. 126a, T. No. 1435. vol. 23. p. 160a; T. No 1425. vol. 22. p. 449a; T. No 1458. vol. 24. p. 526 b.

[5] Ibid.

was observed the saṁgha was free to regulate its boundaries according to its convenience.[6]

Once a saṁgha's boundary was fixed, all the Bhikkhus residing inside that boundary automatically became members of a single saṁgha. If a Bhikkhu did not want to become a member he then had to leave that saṁgha's territory. As long as he is inside the boundary he is a member of the saṁgha and had to join in all its ceremonies.

The number of Bhikkhus in any one saṁgha was never fixed. Some Bhikkhus would cross over the boundary as they left on pilgrimage and of course lost their membership in the samgha. Again, others would arrive from other spots, and, crossing inside the boundary, become members of the saṁgha.

This boundary was known as the Uposatha-sīma. This term, while not found in the Pāli-uposatha-kkhandhaka, is used in the Chinese version of the Mahasaṁghika-vinaya[7] and the Samanta-pāsādikā. The saṁgha contained within such a boundary was called the Sammukhībhūta-saṁgha, because this saṁgha was to be organized by the Bhikkhus "existing face to face" within that boundary at one time And this saṁgha could be seen by the Upāsakas and the Upāsikas before their own eyes.

Such a samgha was formed by its boundary, so that there were many sammukhībhūta-saṁghas in different places.

The meaning of sammukhībhūta-samgha is also found in the definition of the Samagga-saṁgha. In the Suttavibhaṅga of Sanghādisesa the Tenth, the definition of Samagga-saṁgha is given as follows : "the harmony of the saṁgha means that the members of the saṁgha share their livelihoods with each other (samanasaṁvasaka) and dwell in the same boundary (samānasīmaya thito)".[8] From this definition we understand that the saṁgha depends on a boundary.

This fact is also shown indirectly in the Pañcasatika-kkhandhaka of Cullavagga; *i. e.*, that all Bhikkhus had to join in the samgha's ceremonies. In Pañcasatika-kkhandhaka the five hundred elders decided to perform the Sangīti at Rājagrha, but at the same time they determined that no other Bhikkhu should enter inside the boundary of Rājagṛha's saṁgha.[9] And this decision was necessary for them because if other Bhikkhus were to have come into

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[6] Mahāvagga II Vinayapiṭaka vol I. p. 106; T. No 1421 vol. 22 p. 114a; T No. 1425 vol. 22. p. 375b, But Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya provides ten krosas. T. No. 1435. vol. 23, p. 158b; Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinaya provides 2 yojanas and a half. T. No 1458, vol 24, p 527a.

[7] T. No 1425, vol 22, p 295ab, T. No 1462, vol 24, p. 794b.

[8] Vinayapiṭaka vol III, p 173; T. No. 1428, vol. 22, p. 555a; T. No. 1421, vol. 22, p. 20c, T No. 1425. vol. 22, p. 282c.

[9] Cullavagga XI, Vinayapiṭaka vol. II, p. 285; T. No. 1421, vol. 22, p. 190c; T. No. 1435, vol. 23, p. 447c; T. No. 1428, vol. 22, p. 967a.

Rājagṛha's territory, then the harmony of the saṁgha required for the Saṅgīti would not be complete unless such a Bhikkhu joined in the Saṅgīti.

Thus, from the examples above we can see clearly that the Sammmukhībhūtasaṁgha was created by its boundary.

III

Although we do not meet the expression "Sammūkhībhūtasaṁgha" in the Uposathakkhandhaka, we do find it in other places in the Vinayapiṭaka where it is used in connection with the sharing of food and clothing in the saṁgha. In the Cīvarakkhandhaka it is stated, "Buddha says, 'If clothing is offered to the Saṃgha, O Bhikkhus, I allow it to be divided among you by Sammukhībhūtasaṁgha.'"[10] This sentence shows that all Bhikkhus within the boundary should receive a share of the clothing. For that purpose in each saṁgha a Bhikkhu was appointed to be distributor of the clothing (cīvarabhājaka). There are other sentences in the Vinayapiṭaka[11] where "Sammukhībhūtasaṃgha" is used with the same meaning. For example: "If things are offered to the saṃgha, those things are divided in the Sammukhībhūtasaṃgha."[12] These examples indicate that the Sammukhībhūtasaṃgha was the agency through which things were shared.

As for food, a Bhikkhu was allowed to beg his daily meal and take it by himself. But when food was offered to the saṃgha, it had to be shared by all the Bhikkhus in the saṃgha. In the Pātimokkha, the Pācittiya rule 32 prohibits Bhikkhus from begging for food in groups (gaṇabhojana).[13] The reason for this was that if a group of Bhikkhus within the saṃgha were to receive special meals and the remainder were not to get them, then the harmony of the saṃgha would have been threatened. This rule therefore, was prescribed and in case special meals were to be received by many Bhikkhus at once, then they had to be received by each and every Bhikkhu in the saṃgha. But the Bhikkhus were to take special meals of this sort before noon, so that the food would not have to be shared with Bhikkhus living far away.

For this reason it was necessary to determine the boundary within which all Bhikkhus were to share food. Generally, this boundary was the same as that of the Uposatha. So that in the Pali Vinaya there is no special regulation for determining the boundary for food-sharing. But Vinayas such as Mahāsaṁghika, Dharmaguptaka and Sarvāstivādin indicate the methods by which

[11] Cullavagga VI, Vinayapiṭaka vol. II, p. 176.

[12] Mahāvagga VIII, Vinayapiṭaka vol I, p 309, T No. 1428, vol 22. p. 865b; T. No. 1421, vol 22, p 142c, T No 1425, vol 22, p 454b, T No 1435, vol 23, p. 201b.

[13] Vinayapiṭaka vol IV, p. 74; T No. 1421, vol 22, p. 51a, T. No. 1428, vol 22, p. 658c, T. No. 1426, vol. 22, p. 552c, T. No. 1435, vol 23, p. 95a; T. No. 1442, vol. 23, p. 824a.

boundaries of food-sharing were to be determined.[14] One method, of course, was to set up common boundaries for the sharing of food and clothing and for the Uposatha. Sometimes two separate Uposatha areas were enclosed by a single boundary for the sharing of food and clothing (although this arrangement was used only to help maintain a dwelling in a lonely place). And finally a boundary for common Uposatha might contain two separate areas for the sharing of food and clothing.

The meaning of the *samānasamvāsaka* mentioned in the definition of the Samagga-samgha was that all offerings of food and clothing must be shared among all members of the samgha. And, in the Vinaya, it is indicated that all sharing of food and clothing must be done impartially.[15]

IV

Now we shall take up the comparison of the Sammukhībhūtasamgha and the Catuddisasamgha. It is stated in the Cīvarakkhandhaka that "when a Bhikkhu passed away, the three robes and bowl of him should be given to the nursing Bhikkhu, and the remaining trifling things and trifling kitchenwares should be divided by the Sammukhibhutasamgha, but the valuable things and the valuable kitchenwares of him should belong to the Āgatānāgatacātud disasaṁgha. These things should not be given nor should they be divided".[16] In this excerpt both samghas are mentioned The Sammukkībhūtasamgha is the organization which can divide trifling properties, and the Cātuddisasamgha is the organization which is the owner of the permanent properties of the Samgha.

Bhikkhus could not get along only with food and clothing. They needed a dwelling place So that the Saṁgha possessed Samghārāmas, Vihāras, and beds and bedclothing for the use of the Bhikkhus. These properties could not be divided up by the Sammukhībhūtasamgha. Even if the Bhikkhus were suffering from the lack of food or clothing, they were not to exchange the saṁgha's permanent properties in order to get these things. In the Senasanakhandhaka, the division or sale or "ownership" of any of such properties of the saṁgha as the Samghārāmas, the furnishings of the Samghārāmas, the Vihāras or things belonging to the Vihāras was forbidden.[17] So that whenever a Samghārāma or

[14] T. No 1428, vol 22, p. 819b, T. No 1421, vol. 22, p 124a; T. No. 1425. vol 22, p. 295a, T. No. 1435, vol 23, p 177c; T. No. 1435, vol 24, p 474b.

[15] Cullavagga VIII, Vinayapiṭaka, vol. II, p 214, T. No 1428, vol. 22, p. 935b; T. No. 1421, vol. 22, p 179b, T. No. 1425, vol 22, p. 341c, T No 1435, vol 23, p. 464b.

[16] Mahāvagga VIII, Vinayapiṭaka, vol. I, p. 305, T. No 1428, vol. 22, p. 862b, T. No. 1421, vol 22, p. 139b, T No 1425, vol. 22, p 479c, T No. 1435, vol. 23, p. 202c.

[17] Cullavagga VI, Vinayapiṭaka, vol. II, pp. 171-2, T. No 1428, vol. 22, p. 943c; T, N. 1421, vol. 22, p 168c, T No 1435, vol. 23, p. 350b, T. No. 1425, vol. 22, p. 478c; T. No. 1458, vol. 24, p 568c.

a Vihāra was to be offered to the saṁgha, it was generally donated to the Cātuddisasaṁgha. For example, in the Senāsanakhandhaka it is told that when a Gahapati of Rājagṛha erected the sixty Vihāras of Valuvana, Buddha taught him and made him donate them to the Āgatānāgatacātuddisasaṁgha. Again, when Anāthipiṇḍika took Jetavana and erected Vihāras there, Buddha taught him and had him make them over to the Āgatānāgatacātuddisasaṁgha.[18]

These permanent properties belonged to all the Bhikkhus of the present and the future Samgha. Thus some temporal and transient samgha cannot be the owner of these properties of the Samgha, because future Bhikkhus would be using them and thus would have a right to them. They were not considered to be part of any contemporary Sammukhībhūtasaṁgha nor were they to be property of any regional saṁgha bounded by a boundary. These properties belonged to all Bhikkhus both beyond and within the boundaries of the Sammukhībhūtasaṁgha.[19]

For these two reasons, no Sammukhībhūtasaṁgha could be the owner of the permanent properties of the Saṁgha.

For yet another reason the concept of a Catuddisasaṁgha was demanded. The Pātimokkha was laid down by the Buddha, but when he passed away the maintainer of the Pātimokkha was lost. The Saṁgha had to become successor to the Buddha. But the Sammukhībhūtasamgha could not be the successor, because it had to obey the rules of the Pātimokkha The Pātimokkha was held to be prior to the Sammukhībhūtasaṁgha. On Buddha's passing away then it was determined that the Cātuddisasaṁgha should be the Representative of the Pātimokkha. In this aspect, the Cātuddisasaṁgha is an idealistic entity.

From the discussion above we understand that the essence of the Catuddisasaṁgha is defined by its two main characteristics: it was the owner of the permanent properties of the Saṁgha, and it was the Representative of the authority of the Buddhist commandments.

The Cātuddisasaṁgha contains not only Bhikkhus present but Bhikkhus future. It is open in all directions. This Saṁgha has no boundary and is expanding infinitely. It is the universal Samgha.

That is the meaning of the Āgatānāgatacātuddisasaṁgha. But this Saṁgha is not the saṁgha which operates in actual time. The saṁgha of activity is the Sammukhībhūtasaṁgha. The full meaning of the Buddhist Saṁgha can be understood, then, only when the Samgha is seen under both these two aspects.

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[18] Cullavagga, VI, Vinayapiṭaka, vol. II, p. 147, T. No. 1428, vol. 22, p. 937b; T. No. 1421, vol. 22, p. 167b.

[19] Cullavagga VI, Vinayapiṭaka vol. II, p 164, T. No. 1428, vol. 22, p. 941b.

Abbreviations used in FOOT-NOTES

T. = Taishoo Tripiṭaka
No. = Number of Text
Vol. = Volume number of Taishoo Tripiṭaka
No. 1421 = the Pancavargika-Vinaya of Mahīśāṣaka
No. 1425 = the Mahāsaṁghika-Vinaya
No. 1426 = the Prātimokśasūtra of Mahāsaṁghika
No. 1428 = the Caturvarga-Vinaya of Dharmaguptaka
No. 1435 = the Daśabhānavāra-Vinaya of Sarvāstivādin
No. 1442 = the Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya
No. 1458 = the Mūlasarvāstivāda-Vinayasaṁgraha
No. 1462 = the Chinese version of the Samantapāsādikā.

THE TATHĀGATA-GUHYA-SŪTRA AND THE GUHYA-SAMĀJA-TANTRA

By

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The authorities of the Mithila Institute, Darbhanga, deserve our best thanks for publishing critical editions in Devanāgarī script of some of the most important Buddhist texts in Sanskrit. One of the latest publications of this Institute is the second edition of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra*,[1] issued in 1965 as No. 9 in the B.S T. series. I was, however, surprised to see that this *Vajrayāna* text has been issued in place of the Tathāgataguhyaka, which is also the title of one of the *Mahāyāna Sūtras*, and which was advertised under this title in the list of 'nava-dharmas' supplied at the end of several B S.T. publications since 1958. The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* is also sometimes referred to as *Tathāgataguhyaka*, but only by an analogy after the *Tathāgataguhya-Mahāyāna-Vaipulya sūtra*; it is the Tantra's secondary title, to be found only in some late manuscripts. The publication of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra* and its inclusion in the list of 'nine texts' of *sūtra* class, numbered from one to nine in the series of B.S.T, is perhaps not quite justified. Before the publication of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra* as No. 9 in the serial order of the *navadharmas* as planned in the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts series I had cherished the pleasant hope of seeing in print the celebrated Mahāyāna text known as the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*. Indeed, the Mithila Institute of Sanskrit studies would have rendered an invaluable service to the cause of Sanskrit Buddhist Studies if it had published a critically edited Sanskrit text of this *Sūtra*, instead of reproducing an already published and still available *Tantra*. We do not underrate the value of this second edition of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra* but we would have warmly welcomed the publication of an unpublished *Mahāyāna sūtra*, which, if published, is likely to throw a most welcome light on the history of Sanskrit Buddhism. The Editor of B. S T. No. 9 seems to be aware of the fact that the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra* is different from the *Tathāgata-guhyasūtra*.[2] But the very fact that he has edited the Guhyasamāja-Tantra in place of the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* and included it in the list of 'nine texts' of the *sūtra* class, bespeaks of a confusion that requires explanation. The first nine works in the list of the Buddhist Sanskrit-Text Series, intended to be pub-

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[1] First critical edition by Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, G O S. No. 53, Baroda, 1931; re-edited by Dr. Sitansu-Sekhara Bagchi, B S.T. No. 9, Darbhanga, 1965.

[2] Dr. S. Bagchi merely refers to the view of Dr. M. Winternitz (HOIL, II, p. 635) that the *Guhyasamāja* is different from the *Tathāgata-guhyasūtra* quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. BST No. 9, Introduction, p. II, note 1.

lished by the Mithila Institute,[3] are those *Mahayanasūtras* which are formed as *Nava-dharmas* or 'Nine Religious Discourses'; '*Dharma*' here is probably an abbreviated form of *Dharmaparyāya* which means a doctrinal text spoken by the Buddha. We do not find any instance wherein a genuine *Tantra*, like the *Guhyasamāja*, has been included in the list of these nine religious texts of the *sūtra* class. Although the Tibetans have sometimes classed the *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* and the *Mañjuśrīmūlkalpa*, the two *Mahāyāna Vaipulya sūtras*, along with the *Tantras*, but they have never relegated a *Tantra* (rGyud) to the class of a *sūtra* (m DO).

The traditional list of '*Nava-dharmas*' or nine *Mahāyāna sūtras*, includes the following titles:—

1. *Lalita vistara*, 2. *Samādhirāja*, 3. *Lankāvatāra*, 4. *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, 5. *Gaundavyūha*, 6. *Saddharmapundarika*, 7. *Daśabhūmika*, 8. *Suvarnaprabhāsa*, and 9 *Tathāgataguhya*. All these are sutras, often called *Mahāyāna-Vaipulya-Sūtras*; they are the scriptures of the classical form of Mahāyāna Buddhism as distinguished from the *Vajrayāna* form of Tāntrika Buddhism; they belong to the '*Sūtra*' class as distinguished from the '*tantra*' class of the Tibetan Buddhist canonical literature; chronologically also they are older than the Tantras, the latter supplanted the Mahāyāna sūtras some time in and after the Gupta period. The *Guhyasamāja Tantra* is one of the earliest, if not the earliest, of Buddhist Tantras. It has been quoted by Indrabhuti in his *Jñānasiddhi* and by Advayavajra in his *Advayavajra-Samgraha*,[4] according to the Tibetan tradition the system of the *Guhya-Samāja* Originated in South India and *Siddha Nāgārjuna* (Cir. 800 A D.) was associated with its evolution.[5]. Various manuscripts of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* are reported to exist in different mss. Collections.[6] The published text shows that it is an *Anuttara Yoga-Tantra* or a *Tantra* of the *Yogini* class; it is divided in eighteen chapters called '*Paṭalas*'; according to tradition these eighteen chapters form only the first half (*pūrvārdha*) of the *Guhya-samājatantra*[7] The bulk of the text is composed in verses which are occasionally interrupted by prose; the

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[3] Most of these texts have been edited by Dr. P. L Vaidya and they are now available in the market.

[4] *Jñānasiddhi* ed by B Bhattacharyya, G O S, No 44 (1929), pp 76-78; *Advayavajrasamgraha* ed by H P Sastri, G O S No 40 (1927), pp. 49-50 Cf. B. Bhattacharyya's ed. of GST, Introduction, p XXXII

[5] G. N Roerich, The Blue Annels, Vol II, Calcutta, 1953, p. 753.

[6] B. Bhattacharyya's Ed GST, Preface, p VI

[7] The colophon to the published text of GST calls itself '*pūrvārdhakāya*'. The mss. of the *Aparārdha*' of the GST in 15 '*Paṭalas*' is said to exist in Royal Asiatic Society, London. Cf. E B. Cowell and J. Eggeling, Catalogue of Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society in J.R.A.S., 1876 (No. 44.).

language is a very faulty form of Buddhist Sanskrit. The burden of the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra* is to expound the tenets and techniques of *Vajrayāna* mysticism. Its teachings are far removed from those of the *Mahāyāna sūtras*; the entire code of Buddhist ethics is here set aside and a radical departure from the traditional modes of Buddhist piety and purity is recommended for achieving an easy success (siddhi) in Tântrika ritual (*Sādhana*).[8]

Now, it is a fact that there is a *Mahāyānasūtra*, known as the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*, which is entirely different from the *Guhyasamāja-Tantra* and which has nothing to do with Tāntrika tenets. My suggestion is that it is this *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* which is one of the 'nine dharmas' of Mahāyāna Buddhism, and, as such, it should have naturally been included in the first nine titles of the BST series. This text is quoted by Śāntideva in his *Śikṣāsamuccaya* not less than nine times under the title *Āryatathāgata-guhyasūtra*. The quotations are in prose and they bear on the moral and spiritual culture of the Bodhisattvas. In one of the passages cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* Bodhisattva Śāntamati seems to be the main interloeutor.[9] The *Ārya-Tathāgataguhyasūtra* is also quoted twice by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā*, a fact not noticed by Dr. Winternitz. Bodhisattva Śāntamati is addressed also in these passages quoted by Candrakīrti.[10] On comparison I have noticed that the following passage, bearing on quiescence (*upaśama*), is found in both the authorities, the *Prasannapadā* and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*:—"*Tadyathāpi nāma Śāntamate vṛksasya mūle cchinne sarva-Śākhā patraphalāni suṣyanti, evam eva Śāntamate Satkāya dṛṣṭi upaśamāt sarva Kleśa upaśamyante* (*upaśamyantīti*)"[11] One of the most important statements in the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*, bearing on the transcendental nature of the *Tathāgata*, which occur at the end of the second passage cited by Candrakirti is as follows: "*Tatra Tathāgato na kalpayati na vikalpayati. Sarva kalpa vikalpa jāla vāsanā prapanca vigato hi Śāntamate Tathāgatah.*"[12]

The *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* is also called *Tathāgata gunajñānasūtra* and in its Chinese translation it is called the *Tathāgatācintya-guhya-Mahāyānasūtra*. Mr. Thomas Watters had pointed out that the text Quoted in the *Śikṣāsmuccaya* corresponds to the *Tathāgatācintya guhyamahāyānasūtra* listed in B. Nanjio's Catalogue under 23 (3) and 1043, it is totally different from the Tāntrika text the *Guhyasamāja* also called *Tathāgataguhyaka*, and is not in 18 Chapters.[13]

[8] See my book "Studies in the Buddhistic Culture of India During the 7th and 8th Centuries A.D.," Delhi, 1966, Chap. XI.

[9] *Śiksāsamuccaya*, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, BST-11, pp 8, 71, 89, 130, 146, 168, and 191; ed. by C. Bendall, pp.7, 126, 158, 242, 274, 316, and 357.

[10] *Prasannapadā*, ed. by P. L. Vaidya, BST-10, pp. 153-154, 236

[11] BST No.10, p 154 and BST No 11, p.130

[12] *Prasannapadā*—BST. No.10, p. 236.

[13] *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, ed. by C. Bendall, (Indo-Iranial Reprint I, the Haque, 1957) p. 274, note 1.

Thomas Watters has also supplied the following short information from chapters 6 and 7 of theC hinese version of the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* " Ajātaśatru is with Buddha on the Gṛdhrakūṭa mountain at Rājagṛha. Vajrapāṇi Bodhisattva is there also. The King expresses curiosity as to the weight of Vajrapāni's mace. The mace is put on the ground, and the king, Indra, and Maudgalyāyana in succession try in vain to lift it. Ajātaśatru expresses surprise to Buddha at Vajrapāni's lifting the mace with ease, and asks how such infinite strength or power as that of Vajrapāni could be obtained. Buddha replies that there are 10 great means (*Dharma*) "[14] The second half of this very account and further enumeration of ten means of obtainihg power (bala) can be read in passage quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. This passage begins with the following line :

(" *Yathokataṃ Ārya-Tathāgataguhyasūtre-Ārya-Vajrapāṇer bala darśana vismita Ajātaśatru pṛṣṭena Bhagavatā-daśabhir mahārāja dharmaih samanvāgato bodhisattva evamrūpaṃ bala-vatāṃ pratilabhate. Katamairdaśabhiḥ?*.............. *ebhirmahārāja daśabhiriti.* "[15]

The *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* seems to be one of the early *Mahāyanasūtras* (of about 100 B. C.) as it is mentioned in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* of Nāgārjuna (cir. 100 B. C.-100 A D.)[16]. It is also listed in the *Mahāvyutpatti*.[17] Its Tibetan translation also exists and is included in the Kanjur.[18] Both the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* as well as the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* are extant in Chinese translations. The *Sūtra* corresponds to Nos. 23 (3) and 1043 while the *Tantra* corresponds to No 1027 in B. Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese translation of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka*.[19] The text described by R. L. Mitra is a Tantra and not a *Sūtra*, although it is known as *Guhyasamāja-tathāgataguhyaka*, and starts with instructions on different kinds of concentration, but its chief contents are *Vajrayānic* and not *Mahayānic*.[20] MM H.P. Śāstrī has described three manuscripts of a work called the *Guhyasamāja* or the *Tathāgataguhya*. No. 18 in his descriptive list is called *Guhyasamāja-mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra* and is divided into '*parivartas*'.[21] As a rule the *Mahāyānasūtras* are divided into '*parivartas*' while the *Guhyasamāj-tantra* is divided into '*patalas*'. There is however an exception

[14] *Ibid*, ed by C Bendall, loc. cit.

[15] *Ibid*, BST Ed p 146; Bendall's Ed, p. 274.

[16] *Ibid*, BST Ed. p 200.

[17] *Mahāvyutpatti* ed by I P. Minayeff (Bibliotheca Buddhica) Section LXV, 30; here it is called Tathāgatacintyaguhya-nirdeśa.

[18] L Feer, Analyse du Kandjour (AMG, fom 2), No. 214.

[19] Cf. K. Watanabe in J. R. A. S., London, 1907, p. 664; M. Winternitz, History of Indian Literature, Vol II, p 394 note.

[20] R. L. Mitra, Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 261ff.

[21] H. P Sastri, Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Government collection under the care of the Asiatic society of Bengal, Vol I. Buddhist Manuscripts, Calcutta, 1917, pp. 17-21, 64, 72.

to this traditional division in the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, which calls itself a *Mahāyāna-vaipulya-sūtra*, but its first three chapters are called 'parivartas' while the remaining chapters are called 'patalas'.[22] This is due, probably to the fact that the original text of the *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpasūtra* was revised in the *Tāntrika* period (in cir. 700-800) and a large number of *Tāntrika* Buddhist elements were incorporated in its body. This fact seem to have led the writers of the mss. of this sūtra to devide its chapters into 'paṭalas'; the same fact may have induced the Tibetans to include it among the *Tantras*.

According to MM H.P. Śāstrī the text No. 18 in his list of Buddhist Manuscripts, though called *Guhyasamāja-tathāgata*-guhya, is a *Mahāyāna vaipulya sūtra* He seems to be right in his conjecture when he says that this Vaipulya work is the 'original *Tathāgataguhyaka*' and that the first book of *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and sometimes the second also are called *Tathāgataguhyaka* only by an analogy.[23] Dr. Winternitz thought that this work may be identical with the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* quoted in the *Śikṣasamuccaya*.[24] His view that a Ms. of this Sūtra exists in the Cambridge[25] University Library, however, does not seem to be true. For the Ms. which exists in the Cambridge, is that of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, and not of the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*, and Dr. B. Bhattacharya has used a rotograph copy of this Ms. in his edition of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*.[26] The view of Dr. Bhattacharya that the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* is one of the Nine Dharmas of Nepalese Buddhism[27] probably originates from a confusion based on the common title of '*Tathāgataguhya*' applied to both the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* and the *Guhyasamājatantra*. But the fact that in the three Mss., which go by the title of the *Guhyasamāja-tathāgatag uhyaka*, described by MM. H P. Śāstrī, Bodhisattva Śāntamati figures in conversation with Vajrapāṇi Guhyādhipati, suggests that we are confronted in these Mss. with a case of textual revision of and interpolation in a *Mahāyanasūtra* by Tāntrika Buddhist authors. Bodhisattva Śāntamati is a character of the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* as is proved by the passages cited in Prasannapadā and *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. He is unknown to the

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[22] *Mahāyānasūtra-sangraha* Pt II, *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpasūtra*, ed. by P L. Vaidya BST No. 18, Darbhanga, 1964, see table of contents on pp 5-6.

[23] H. P. Sastri Loc cit

[24] M Winternitz, A History of Indian Literature, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, p 395 and note 3; 'Notes on the *Guhyasamāja-tantra* and the Age of Tantras,' Indian Historical Quarterly Vol. IX, No 1, (1931), pp 1-2.

[25] M. Winternitz in I H Q. Vol. IX (1931), p.1

[26] *Guhyasamāja-tantram*, GOS, 53 (1931), Preface, P. vi; *Sādhanmāla*, Vol II, GOS, 41 (1928), Introduction, p XXVIII, Quoting C Bendall's Catalogue of Mss in the University Library Cambridge, p 70

[27] A comparison of the Chinese Buddhist text, No. 1043 in Nanjio's Catalogue, with the Buddhist Sanskrit MSS. No. 18 in H P. Sastri's Catalogue, will alone settle for ever the real **issue behind the problem raised in this paper.**

published text of the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, Vajrapāni, however, is common only found in the *sūtras* as well as in the *tantras*.

It appears that there was a *Mahāyāna vaipulya sūtra* called *Tathāgataguhya-sūtra* or *Tathāgatacintyaguhyanirdeśa*. The existence of this *Sūtra* is proved by Nāgārjuna's *Sūtra-sammuccaya*, the *Mahāvyutpatti*, Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Candrakīrti's *Prasannapadā*, and also by its Tibetan and Chinese translations. In our opinion this *Sūtra* belongs to the group of nine texts (*navadharmas*). Then there is the *Guhyasamāja-tantra*, a *Vajrayāna* text of much later date. This seems to have been in two parts known as *pūrvārdha* and *uttarārdha* or *aparārdha*, the first part has been published, the second part exists in MS. form. This *Tantra* seems to have had a second name, viz. *Tathāguhyaka*, so called after the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra*. The mss. described by MM H P. Śāstri seem to represent a later variant of the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* in which there seems to have been an admixture of the materials belonging to both the Sūtra and the *Tantra*. This is merely a suggestion, and whether there exists any mss. of the original *Tathāguhyasūtra* can be ascertained only by a comparison of the three Buddhist Sanskrit mss. with the Chinese translation of the original sūtra.

UTTARARĀMACARITA AND "THE DESCENT OF THE GANGES"

By

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Ancient India has left the world of art and imagination no greater treasures than its poetry and sculpture. Moreover, by a curious coincidence two outstanding moments in the flowering of these two arts converge in a remarkable manner to essentially the same purpose. The extremely close relation between the final act in Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* and the most inspiring monument at Mahāmallapuram, "The Descent of the Ganges," has, I believe, not been fully recognized. The relationship affords an uncommonly striking instance of the imagination operating to similar ends in two radically different media, the static, silent medium of singularly hard rock surface and the eloquent, fluent and dynamic medium of the stage. The monument may well be imagined as translating the values of the drama into stone, the drama imagined as bringing the essence of the sculpture to light upon the stage. Let it be admitted at once that no conclusive evidence exists that Bhavabhūti himself knew the monument or had it in mind when writing his play. But the contrary is the more plausible. It is virtually certain that the sculpture is the older by more than a lifetime. Nevertheless, the parallels are so close that it is strongly probable that the poet knew of the famous sculpture and, living in central India, had seen it. Even by his own lifetime it had become a celebrated place of pilgrimage. We have here more than a common body of myth into which any artisan or playwright might dip his cup. The similarities exceed those of merely factual or philosophical coincidence. Moreover, it would be hard to imagine anyone acquainted with both works and not finding the one more meaningful to him because of the other. These are analogies of substantial value for the scholar, who by virtue of such extended knowledge sees each work in new dimensions. Should the same thoughts be accessible to us also in mime, dance or painting, we would be similarly enlightened. But, unhappily, the performing arts are singularly subject to mortality. while paintings, especially in the warm Indian climate, quickly fade. Language and stone are everywhere our most enduring media, as the tablets of Egypt most memorably attest. And from ancient India these have, to all appearances, the most to convey. There can be no possible question of the superior genius of classical India in sculpture and in poetic drama.

"The Descent of the Ganges" and the final act of the *Uttararāmacarita* are both highly unusual, each according to its own kind. These two high marks of the Indian genius might well resemble each other, for they certainly

resemble little else. Each presents a climax, a pressing of its own elements to their uttermost extension. Nowhere else in Indian sculpture and possibly not in any sculpture is such an ambitious group of figures attempted. Nowhere else even in Sanskrit drama is the stage so thronged with important characters and the scene animated by such miraculous events. Almost innumerable figures are summoned by the sculptor into a single group, almost innumerable figures are imagined to populate Bhavabhūti's stage. The stage-direction indicates the unusualness of the events. It is stated that the musicians leave the stage, obviously to make room for the vast assembly that follows. This direction, with a supreme poetic license, or, shall we say, hyperbole, announces that there enter all gods, demigods, men, animals, birds, snakes or nagas, and the spirits of all vegetation and of all living things. Similarly, countless species, appearing as a rule two by two, like animals in the ark, populate the rock at Mahāmallapuram. In each instance, the scene is imagined as on the banks of the Ganges. The obvious intention is to present unity in diversity, to bring harmony to multiplicity. All life is represented as nourished by the river's sacred waters into which all life is dissolved and from which it emerges, repeatedly and forever.

It would be almost superfluous to add that this thought is not mere optimism. In the great sculpture a central figure, a fervent petitioner, is twice depicted, once as offering his earnest prayer and once as blessed by its acceptance. Similarly, Rāma is overpowered by grief at the image of Sītā's sufferings in the play-within-the-play and subsequently blessed by her resurrection from the waves and his recovery of her as his bride. The Spirit of the Ganges, or Bhagīratha, is in each case obviously the active and redeeming agent. Bhagīratha is, to be sure, one of the few characters appearing in both works. But the common intention of scluptor and playwright is everywhere apparent.

It is far from rash to insist that nothing in drama or literature stands really close to the act in Bhavabhūti's play, as nothing in sculpture stands to the Mahāmallapuram monument. The playwright achieved at once a culmination in certain leading traditions in Sanskrit drama and, within such measure as was possible, like the sculptor exercised a considerable force of innovation. A miracle of his art is that the act is the most expansive in content and one of the briefest in the mere number of its lines. It is an apotheosis of the choreographic as well as of the poetic. One marvels at how much is contained within the given space. Sanskrit drama had at all times been notably rhetorical, growing in this respect more and more eloquent and artificial as the procession of centuries passed. Moreover, the Sanskrit theatre was not only extreme in the complexity of its verbal style but also in its choreographic style. More than virtually any drama known to us—even in Asia—it violated naturalism, favoring the stylized, the artificial and the supernatural and defying the apparent limitations

of its own medium. It presented a culmination of idealism in both thought and manner. Its characters, at least in the more serious and romantic plays, became more than mortal. Its kings were gods and its gods the kings of heaven. Behind it, if not always in full visibility, stood the religion of the people, the legends and myths understood as sacred narratives by the populace and as symbolic mysteries by the learned class.

It is, of course, extremely well-known that a vast number of plays deal with the Rāma legends Bhavabhūti is known to have written at least two of these, the *Uttararāmacarita* being the second and much the more impressive of his two major works, not only his own masterpiece but the outstanding masterpiece among all plays relating the *Rāmāyana* stories. More than this, he elaborated and in important respects altered the epic material, giving it a much less tragic conclusion than found hitherto. The tragic sentiment was not only admitted in epic poetry but virtually obligatory. Tragedy was, broadly speaking, at least, denied in Sanskrit drama. With magnificent strength the playwright rose to the supreme task of bringing the epic or sacred story to the conclusion that befitted both the form in which he worked and his own extremely idealistic habits of thought.

The result is expression of idealism and philosophical reflection typical of classical Indian thought at its fullest development, before the unhappy centuries of conquest by invaders. Clearly, the story itself is not the main issue, for the story is symbolic. Rāma and Sītā are here conceived as factors in the universe according to the Hindu insight into the human soul. The act is thus a supreme expression of religious and metaphysical insight. It is metaphysical by virtue of being universal. All elements and constituent factors of the universe are conceived as present in the play. As far as the poet's philosophy extends, the vital truths of both man and nature are conveyed in the sensuous images of the stage. Hence the insistence that visibly before us all forces that beget, sustain, dissolve and renew the universe are represented. Not content with a presentation on a single plane, Bhavabhūti provides that there shall even be a play within a play. Rāma as if in a drama attends the dramatic presentation of Sītā's death and resurrection. The hero passes from ignorance, error and agony to knowledge, truth and almost unspeakable joy. The crowded stage shows at least symbolically, as already observed, all divinities, men, beasts, reptiles and also the spirits of plants, trees, flowers—in brief, all that is. The scene, unlike almost all episodes in drama known to us, represents the totality of existence and truth. All creatures are redeemed and shine in the radiance of a sublime illumination.

It should not, I think, be argued that the analogy proposed in this article is the less forceful because merely one act of a play is compared with a self-

sufficient monument. As well-known, the structure of Sanskrit drama admits much independence for the individual acts. (This only to a less degree, incidentally, is true of the classical stage in both China and Japan.) The denouement of Bhavabhūti's work enjoys, in fact, an unusual independence in that it presents a single and complete incident, the play-within-the-play, depicting the life of Sītā as witnessed by Rāma and the assembled audience. Bhavabhūti's last act, like the last book of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, is virtually an independent work. Or rather, by virtue of the play-within-the-play it is the summation of the epic story of Sītā as reinterpreted by the dramatist. Similarly, an inclusive study of the numerous monuments at Mahāmallapuram, by no means attempted in this article. which is little more than a footnote, would presumably reveal much more continuity than appears on casual inspection. The rock was also placed within a larger complex. But philosophically considered the play and the monument exists primarily within the context of Indian thought itself. In their aesthetic form no less than in their imagery and spiritual content the two works are fully comparable and complete.

In essence the great carved rock at Mahāmallapuram presents precisely the same expression as the play of the Hindu vision of the universal. It is obvious that the sculptor attempted within the very ample rock face, measuring roughly thirty feet in height and some eighty eight feet in length, to symbolize the totality of existence. Elsewhere in the neighbouring sculpture the Rāmāyaṇa story is related. That it is not told on the massive boulder is owing to the procedure which the artist selected but, although this chiefly affects his imagery in no way does it determine his general intent. Scholarship has, to be sure, come to no final decision regarding many of the secondary ideas and mythological allusions. One view, to give a single example, is that the Arjuna legend from the *Mahābhārata* is implied. But this view and others like it are to our present purpose really not material There have, naturally, been many and quite diverse commentaries. But much is still assured and points to the conclusion presented here regardless of what avatars are to be seen. The scene, as in the play, is clearly on the banks of the Ganges. Down the middle of the rock, it will be recalled, a stream of water poured in the wet season and could further be augmented by filling and releasing reservoirs constructed behind the boulder's topmost rim. Carved on the rock where the stream flowed in most abundance are figures of the nagas, alse present in Bhavabhūti's ensemble. And here, too, is Bhagīratha [25] deity associated with the Ganges, equally central and vital in the play and in the sculpture.

Surely, nowhere else in Sanskrit drama can so bold a metaphysically interpreted myth be found and nowhere else in Indian sculpture, perhaps, is there as audacious an image of the universal as at Mahāmallapuram. Here, the eye at once recognizes the idea of infinity. Art issues forth from nature more

palpably even than in the rock-temples at Elura or Elephanta or even those at Mahāmallapuram itself. The picture has no frame. At one extreme the rock merges with the temple, at the other it declines to nature itself. Admittedly, the multiplicity of animals, reptiles, gods, men on the monument fails at once to suggest the theatre which, even in the instance of the "open stage", seems to us as a rule specifically finite. (But it is partly on account of this paradox that the present article is written.) The stage, as commonly thought of, is a relatively small area inhabited by a relatively small group of actors. But no more does Bhavabhūti's act resemble a typical play, or, for that matter, any other scene in his own plays. The truth itself is a paradox. The analogy between the two expressions in such diverse media and with such magnificent abandon of apparent restrictions and rules is vastly impressive. Two great artists join hands, as it were, in voicing a common thought that is in itself the metaphysical and idealistic synthesis of all that is incidental in the devoted vision of comprehensive reality. Each sustains supports and augments our understanding of the other. It is a measure of the inner integrity and coherence of thought in classical India that two supreme expressions, each in a different medium, should so profoundly project essentially the same vision of existence. We can scarcely ponder too long or too seriously on this remarkable coincidence reminding us that in the study of any one medium of Indian expression other media may very profitably be consulted. The flow of gleaming water over the rock at Mahāmallapuram brings the statues themselves into astonishing and theatrical life; the tableau of Rāma and his countless companions spellbound with joy at Sītā's recovery turns drama into immutable and ageless stone.

SANSKRIT WORKS WITH RĀMĀYAṆA THEME WRITTEN BY ĀNDHRAS

By

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Of all the themes for poetical compositions the story of Rāmāyana is the most attractive. Almost all the great Sanskrit writers tapped the main source of Rāmāyana of Sage Vālmīki and composed in their own way choosing some or other literary form.

It is believed that Lord Śrī Rāma along with Sītā and Laksmaṇa, during his exile, sanctified the Āndhra country and lived for some period at Pañcavatī on the banks of the river Godāwarī. Śrī Rāma and his devotee Hanumān are worshipped throughout Āndhra by all Hindus belonging to different creeds. There are more than 200 poetical compositions in Telugu with Rāmāyana theme. Likewise Āndhra Sanskritists also took the same opportunity and composed many works in Sanskrit dealing either with the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa or a part thereof.

There are 26 Kāvyas, 17 Campū Kāvyas, 12 Dvyarthī-Citra-Bandha Kāvyas, 7 Dramas and 2 Musical compositions in Sanskrit with Rāmāyana theme by 57 Āndhra Sanskritists of different ages besides numerous stotras and other minor works.

Here is a brief account of these authors arranged alphabetically. Authors like Bhavabhūti and Murāri who are also claimed to be Āndhras are not included in this list, lest there should be a controversy over it.

1. Anantācārya of Āsūri family, a court poet of Betavole and Munagāla Zamindars composed "*Campū Rāghava*" in 6 cantos in 1868 A.D. This was printed in Telugu script in 1929 along with a commentary of his disciple Venkata Nṛsiṁhācārya who says that this excells Bhoja Campū in certain respects. The Commentator says—

"अत्र भोजानभिहितानां साहित्यविशेषविषयाणां, कथाभेदानां, कवनभेदानां, अलङ्कारविशेषाणां, वृत्तविशेषाणां, अन्वयविशेषाणां, एकैकस्मिन् पद्ये बहुविधान्वयवशादर्थविशेषाणां, नैघण्टिकपदगुम्फन विशेषाणां, उत्तमकाव्यलक्षणविशेषाणां, आकाङ्क्षादिचतुष्टयमहालक्षणाविशेषाणां, आक्षेपसमाधानाद्यवकाश-विशेषाणां युद्धसमये रौद्ररसे प्रसिद्धेपि नवरसोत्पादनकल्पनादिबहुविशेषणविषयाणां च प्रदर्शितत्वात्, अतः एतत्पाठकानां श्रीमत् भोजकृतादपि परमोपकारकोऽयं ग्रन्थः"

Anantācārya has introduced many Viśiṣṭādvaita traditions in this Campū.

2. Anantarāma Paṇḍita of Paraśurāma Pantula family who lived at Warangal during the middle of the 19th century wrote "*Sītāvijaya Campū*",

describing Sītā's victory over Śatakanṭha. I have an incomplete MS copy of this work in my collection.

3. Anapotanāyaka (1361-1383 A.D.) father of Sarvajña Siṅgabhūpāla of " Rasārṇavasudhākara " fame and founder of the Rācakoṇḍa Velama kingdom is said to have composed a drama by name " *Abhırāmarāghava* " which is not extant. Sarvajña Siṅgabhūpāla has cited five quotations from this drama in different contexts in the 2nd and 3rd Ullāsas of his " Rasārṇavasudhākara ".

4. Upamāka Venkaṭeśwara of Niṭṭala family of Vizag District wrote " *Rāmāyaṇa Saṅgraha* " (R. No. 3375 (b) Trı. Cata. Vol. IV, Part I—B. Madras) in the year 1866 A.D. He was a poetic genius of rare merit. In the garb of this *Rāmāyaṇa Sangraha*, he arranged the letters of verses in such an ingenious way that we get four more poems out of particular letters so combined and read together. This is also known as " *Catuścitragarbharāmāyana* ". We get (1) " *Gaurīvıvāha Kāvya* " by the regular combination of the first letter in the Stanzas, (2) " *Srīrangādı Kṣetramāhātmyam* " by the regular combination of the first letter in the 2nd pāda of the verses, (3) " *Bhagavadavatāra Carıtam* " by the regular combination of the first letter in the 3rd pāda of the stanzas and (4) " *Draupadī Kalyānam* " by the regular combination of the first letter in the 4th pāda of the stanzas from Ayodhyā to Yuddha Kāṇḍas. The final feat in this Kāvya is that a regular combination of the first letters of each of the verses in Bāla Kāṇḍa makes up " *Rāma kavacam* ".

5. Ekāmranātha born in Konḍavīḍu, Guntur District, became a court poet of Immaḍı Aṅkuśa belonging to the family of Rānā Kings who ruled over some territory in Mysore in 16th and 17th centuries. Besides many other interesting and valuable poems he composed " *Yuddha Kānda* " as a supplement to ' *Bhoja Campū* '. This is described by E. Hultz in his report on Sanskrit MSS in South India, Madras 1905.

6. Kṛṣṇa Paṇḍıta of Itıkāla family and a disciple of Ānandatīrtha (1198-1278 A.D.), the founder of Dvaıta philosophy, composed " *Rāghava Pāndavīya* " (No. 292, volume V, Adayar & R. No. 4287 (b) Trı. Cata. Vol. V, Part I — A Madras) a dvyarthī Kāvya describing at once the stories of Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata. There is a commentary on it by Rāmasūri of Degaramūḍi family.

7. Kṛṣna Panḍıta son of Śeṣa Narasiṁha the founder of Benaras school of grammar is said to have written " *Kriyāgopanarāmāyana* " besides *Kaṁsavadha*, *Pārıjātaharana Campū* and many more other works.

8. Kṛṣṇamācārya of Eleveḷḷı family who lived during the first half of 19th century at Mañcālakaṭṭa, Mahboobnagar district wrote " *Niroṣṭhyarāmāyanam.* " The MS is available with his descendants. He received the patronage of Jataprole rājas.

9. Kṛṣṇamācārya of Hosadurgam family (1839-1916 A.D.) also known as Śrī Kṛṣṇabrahmatantra Parakāla Swāmī was a great scholar poet and composed more than 100 works in Sanskrit and Telugu. He adorned the courts of Vanaparti, Ātmakūr and Jataprole in Mahboobnagar District before he became the pontiff of Parakāla Mutt. Most of his works are in Manuscript form. They are available in the palace libraries of the Zamindars mentioned above and also in the Parakāla Mutt, Mysore. He wrote a mahākāvya by name "*Raghunātha-Vijayam*," a vyāyoga called '*Vikrānta-rāghavam*" and also other poem called "*Rāmāyaṇa Vaibhavam*".

10. Kṛṣnamūrti of Śiṣṭu family (1780-1870 A.D.) a great genius of the last century, composed a Citra Kāvya "*Kaṅkanabandharāmāyaṇam*" and a commentary thereon (R. N. 2116 Tri. Cata. Vol. III part, I-A Madras). It is a rare feat of poetic genius in the history of Sanskrit literature. Though it is only one stanza of *Vidyunmāla* metre of 32 letters arranged in a circular form so as to make a Kankaṇa (a bangle) by reading them from left to right and right to left starting from any letter we get 64 verses describing the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa. This single stanza is :—

नेता देवाली नामाशा, धाना धीना नेक्रा लोकी।
मास्था नाभाख्या योगीशं, पाया देतं रामे राजा॥

11. Kṛṣṇa Śāstrī of Śrīdhara family who lived during the 2nd half of the last century at Ayyavārupalle in Mahboobnagar District wrote "*Śrī-Rāmamandahāsa Campū*" which is available in the palace library of Jataprole Zamindars.

12. Gangādhara brother-in-law of Agastya Vidyānātha the famous court poet of Kākati Pratāparudradeva (1290-1323 A.D.) is said to have written "*Rāghavābhyudaya*" which is not extant today. Oppert (Vol. II, No. 4872) mentions this work as Gangadhara Sūnu's.

13. Gopālarāya of Janumpalli family a Reḍḍi ruler also known as Rāja Aṣṭabhāṣa Bahiri Gopālarao who ruled over Vanaparti Samsthānam in the middle of the 17th century wrote "*Rāmacandrodayam*" a Yamaka Kāvya in 5 Ucchvāsas having 291 verses in all. It was printed in 1896 A. D. along with the author's commentary on it. That he was a versatile scholar is known from the following verse.

षट्छत्री पारदृश्वा सरसमृदुवचश्श्लाघ्य नानाकवीन्द्र
स्तुत्यस्त्वाऽशेषभाषा कृतबहुमधुरोदारचित्रप्रबन्धः।
साहित्ये सार्वभौमस्सकलगुणनिधिस्सङ्गीतविद्या-
निष्णातः स्तूयते यो दिशि दिशि विबुधैश्चन्द्रिकाचारुकीर्तिः॥

14. Cina Bommanāyaka son of Nala Bommabhūpāla ruled over Vellore during 1579 A. D. and patronised the great scholar Appaya Dīkṣita. He was a

good writer in Telugu and Sanskrit. His "*Saṅgīta-rāghavam*" (No. 10783 and 10784 Des. cata. Vol. XVI, Tanjore) is a musical composition in 6 cantos dealing with the story of Rāmāyaṇa. Like Jayadeva's '*Gita Govinda*', *Sangīta-rāghavam* is full of songs with different *rāgas* and *tālas* interspersed with verses.

15. Dīksācārya of Purāṇam family who flourished during the 2nd half of 19th century in the Gadwal court, Mahboobnagar District, wrote many works in Sanskrit. His "*Rāma Campū*" was printed at Gadwal.

16. Devaya son of Śrīpati, whose date and place are not known, wrote "*Prasanna-rāmāyaṇam*" (D No. 11607, Vol. XX, Madras) in 22 Sargas covering the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa.

17. Nāganāthasūri of Kandukūri family whose date is not known has composed "*Rāmavijayaḥ*" (No. 645, Vol. V, Adayar) a Campū Kāvya in 6 Kāṇḍas. Cokkanātha who is mentioned as the author's guru might be his father aslo.

18. Nārāyana Śāstrī of Kālanāthabhaṭṭa family who lived at Āryavaṭam near Kākināḍa, East Godāwari District, during the last centuary wrote "*Hanumadvijayam*".

19. Nṛsiṁha Kavi son of Śivarāma flourished in the court of Nañjarāja (1734-1770 A.D.) the king maker of Mysore. He was also called Navīna Kālidāsa or Nūtana Kālidāsa. Besides "*Nañjarāja Yásobhūṣanam*" a rhetorical work Nṛsimhakavi wrote "*Vikramarāghava*" (No. 670 Vol. V, Adayar) describing the valorous deeds of Śrī Rāma in 16 sargas.

20. Perusūri son of 'Śridhara Venkaṭeśa' also known as Navīnapatañjali was a versatile writer in grammar, poetry and drama. His father was patronised by Śahāji Mahārāja of Tanjore (1684-1712). Among his other compositions mentioned in his "*Vasumangalaāṭakam*" (D. No. 12659, Vol. XXI, Madras) "Śrīrāma Candra Vijayah" is a poem which is not available now.

21. Brahmasūri son of Cerukūri Sarveśwara who lived during the middle of 16th century, wrote "*Uttarakāṇḍa Campū*" (R. No. 2322. Tri. cata Vol. III, part I—A, Madras) dealing with the incidents in the life of Rāma which happened after his coronation.

22. Bhadrādrirāmaśāstri of Sonṭhī family (1856-1915 A. D.) a native of Piṭhāpuram, East Godāwarī District composed many Telugu and Sanskrit works. He became a good writer while he was in teens. His "*Śrīramavijaya Campū*" is a favourite of Pandits as a work of literary art in Āndhra. This is printed in Telugu script.

23. Bhāsyakāra Śāstrī of Cerla family who lived during the early 20th Century at Kākaraparti, West Godawari District, was a unique relic of old-day Sanskrit scholarship and mastery over Grammar, Lexicons and poetics. His

"*Mekādhīśarāmāyaṇa*" is a single verse of 16 letters, interpreted by the separation and combination of the letters so as to cover the whole story of Rāmāyana. He also composed a "*Kaṅkanabandharāmāyana*" in one verse of 32 letters which if read from left to right and right to left starting from any letter we get 64 verses. He interprets each verse so formed in two ways by splitting the compounds so that in effect there results from one single verse a poem of 128 verses in all. Following is the Kaṅkanabandha:

रामा नाथा भारा सारा, चारा वारा गोपाधारा।
धारा धारा सीमाकारा, पारावारा सीनारामा॥

This is an improvement over the "*Kaṅkaṇabandha*" of Śiṣtu Kṛṣṇamūrti Śāstri.

24 Madhuravāni one of the famous poetesses and favourite mistress of Raghunātha-nāyaka (1614-1633 A.D.) of Tanjore composed poetry in Telugu, Sanskrit and Prākrit. She was well equipped in Music and Dance as well. Though she is said to have composed "*Naiṣadham & Kumārasambhavam*" etc., only her "*Rāmāyana sāratilakam*" is extant at present in the Veda-Vedānta library, Bangalore. This is supposed to be a translation of "*Rāmāyana sāratilakam*" in Telugu composed by king Raghunātha-nāyaka.

25. Mallikārjuna-bhaṭṭa one of the gems in the court of Kākati Pratāparudradeva (1290-1323 A.D.) of Warangal is said to have composed "*Abhiṣiktarāghavam*" a drama which is unfortunately not available today.

26. Mallinātha of Kolācala family, the great commentator who lived during the 2nd half of 14th century and in the early 15th century, wrote "*Raghuvīra-carita*". Critics opine that the "*Raghuvīra Carita*" printed in the Travancore Sanskrit Series, No. 57 and also R.N. 2759 Tri. Cata. Vol. III- C Madras, found anonymous might be by Mallinātha only.

27. Mallubhaṭṭa alias Kavimalla Mallayācārya of Śākavelli or Sākalya family was also a court poet of Kākati Pratāparudra-deva (1290-1323 A.D.) of Warangal. Later on he migrated to Rācakoṇḍa and received the patronage of Singabhūpāla (1330-1357). He is said to have written a "*Nirosthya-rāmāyana*" which became extinct by the middle of 16th centuay. He also wrote a mahākāvya by name "*Udārarāghava*" which was printed in 1891 A.D. This is incomplete.

28. Raghunātha-nāyaka (1614-1633) the greatest of Nāyaka kings of Tanjore was not only a patron of all fine arts but he himself was an accomplished artist and a writer in Telugu and Sanskrit. Though some of his Telugu works are available almost all his Sanskrit works are lost to the posterity. Oppert has mentioned Raghunātha's "*Sangraharāmāyana*" (No 3700, Vol. I page 306). It is also known as "Rāmāyaṇa Sāra Saṅgraha" (oppert No. 4442, Vol. 1, page 360).

29. Rāghavārya whose time and place are not known, has composed "*Bhadrācala Campū*" (D. No. 12757, Vol. XXI, Madras and No. 920, Vol. V, Adayar) a work in prose and verse on Śrī Rāma residing at Bhadrācalam on the banks of Godāwarī. The author might have lived during the middle of 18th century.

30. Rāmakavi of Devulapalli family whose time and place are not known has composed "*Rāmābhyudaya Campū*" (R. No. 1409. Tri. Cata. Vol. II, Part I B, Madras) which is incomplete.

31. Rāmacandra of Pullela family who might have lived in the early 19th century at Amalāpuram, East Godāwarī District has composed "*Paulastya-rāghavīyam*" (R. No. 1700, Tri. cata. Vol. II, Part I-C, Madras) a poem in about 20 sargas summarising the whole story of Rāmāyana.

32. Rāmacandra Śāstrī of Korāḍa family (1816-1900) of East Godāwarī District was another prodigy of the last century and a prolific writer in Telugu and Sanskrit. He wrote nearly 2o works in Sanskrit and most of them are printed in Telugu script. He wrote " Uttararāmāyanam " a poem and "*Rām-acandra-vijaya Vyāyoga*" a drama.

33. Rāmaswāmī of Bandlamūḍi family of the last century wrote "*Rāma Campū*" which is said to be printed at Madras (History of classical Sanskrit literature by M. Krishnamacaiya, (HCSL by M. K.), page 518).

34. Rāmaswāmī Śāstrī of Gundu family another writer of the last century and a resident of Godāvarī District wrote "*Sītā Campū*" HCSL by M K. page 518, No. I.)

35. Rāmācārya son of Veṅkatācārya who lived during the 18th century and received the patronage of the Zamindars of Pālvañca in whose territory the sacred place of Bhadrācalam is situated, wrote "*Bhadragiri Campū*" on Śrī Rāma of Bhadrācalam. This MS is in my collection.

36. Laksmana-kavi of Diṭṭakavi family who lived during the 17th century, wrote "*Hanumadrāmāyana*" covering the whole story of Rāmāyana in one canto with 122 verses. It is accompanied by a commentary perhaps by the author himself. I have a copy of this MS in my collection.

37. Lakṣmanasūri son of Gaṅgādhara is the famous author of "*Yuddha Kānda*" which we find in print as a supplement to Bhoja Campū. He was a resident of Śanigaram in Karīmnagar District. He lived perhaps in the 12th or 13th century.

38. Laksmana Somayājī of Oruganti family who lived during the 2nd half of 16th century or early 17th century wrote "*Sītārāmavihāra kāvya*". I read a paper on this work in the Śrīnagar session of A I.O. Conference in 1961. This Kāvya has been published by the Sanskrit Academy, Osmania University,

Hyderabad in 1962. Lakṣmaṇa Somayājī's lyrical composition "Gītarāma" is not available now.

39. Vāmanabhaṭṭabāna who adorned the court of Komaṭi Vemāreḍḍi (1403-1420 A.D.) is one of the great Āndhra Sanskritists and a prolific writer. His "*Raghunātha Caritam*" (No. 3721, Vol. VI, Tanjore) is a Mahākāvya in 30 cantos covering the 6 kāṇḍas of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa in simple and sweet style.

40. Vīrarāghava of Viñjamūri family (1855-1920) of West Godāwarī District wrote a Sandeśa Kāvya by name "*Hanumatsandeśa*" wherein Hanumān carries the message of Śrīrāma to Sītā, captive in Lankā, and vice versa, covering the story of Sundara kāṇḍa.

41. Vīrarāghava whose time and place are not known has composed "*Bhadrādri rāmāyanam*" (R. No. 4310, Tri. cata Vol. V, part I—B, Madras) on Lord Śrī Rāma worshipped at Bhadrācalam in Godāwarī District. This is written in Aśwadhāṭī metres.

42. Vīrarāghava kavi of Nellūri family was an other prolific writer and a great scholar of 17th century His "*Viśeṣana Rāmāyana*" (No. 3737, Vol. VI, Tanjore) in 7 kāṇḍas, inclusive of Uttara kāṇḍa also, is written by employing all the seven case suffixes as adjectives to Śrīrāma in the seven kāṇḍas respectively.

43 Veṅkata Kṛṣnamācārya son of Veṅkārya of Bhāradwāja gotra and a resident of Vādapalli, wrote "*Rāmacandra Vijayah*" (R. No. 5360 (c) Tri. cata. Vol. VI, part I—Madras). This MS is incomplete. The same author has also composed "*Vilāsabhūṣana-bhānah*", R. No. 1576 (b) Tri. cata. Vol II, part I—C, Madras) which described the marriage of Sītā and Rāma wroshipped at Bhadrācalam

44. Venkanna of Jayanti family (1864-1924) a pleader at Vijayanagaram, Vizag District wrote "*Abhinavarāmāyana*" summarizing the whole story of Rāmāyana in 700 verses. This is said to be printed in Telugu script (HCSL by M.K., p 672).

45. Mm. Venkataraṅgācārya (1822-1900) of Paravastu family who lived at Viśākhapattanam was another great scholar poet of the last century. He wrote a short poem by name "*Kumbhakarna vijayam*".

46. Veṅkaṭarāmanarasimhācārya (1842-1928 A.D.) of Muḍumbi family and the poet laureate in the court of Vijayarāma-gajapati of Vijayanagaram was another prodigy. He wrote more than 100 works in different branches of Sanskrit literature. His "*Rāmacandra Kathāmṛta*" is a famous poem. (HCSL. by M.K. 381).

47. Veṅkaṭarāmarāju of Cennamādhavuni family of Nalgonda District, was another great poet in Telugu and Sanskrit. He lived during the 2nd half

of 19th century. He wrote a tryarthī by name "*Rāmakṛṣna Yudhiṣṭhira Campū*", narrating at once the three stories of Rāmāyana, Bhāgavata and Mahābhārata. I have an incomplete copy of this MS in my collection.

48. Veṅkaṭācārya of Muppirāla wrote "*Rāmāyana Sārasaṅgraha*" which also contains a statement in chronological order of the events of Rāmāyaṇa and gives a computation of dates (HCSL, by M.K. 26).

49. Veṅkaṭa Śāstrī (1860-1918) of Kākaraparti of West Godāwarī District wrote "*Sītārāma Campū*" (HCSL, by M.K 806 fn 1)

50. Veṅkateśwara of Cerukūri family who lived during the first half of 17th century wrote "*Citrabandha-rāmāyaṇam*" in 6 sargas (No. 3773 & 3773 Vol. VI, Tanjore) in 1635 A.D. This is full of different kinds of Bandhas and Citra Kavitā. Yajñanārāyana-bhaṭṭa father of the author, wrote a ṭīkā on it.

51. Venkaya Sudhi whose date and time are not known is said to have composed "*Kuśalava Campū*" dealing with the story of Uttarakāṇḍa (HCSL. by M. K. p. 518).

52. Singarācārya of Addaṅki-tirumala family who was born during the middle of the last century at Takkellapāḍu wrote "*Meghanāda Vijaya Vyāyoga*", a dramatic composition, printed in Kalīkumāra granthamālā series No. 11 at Ayodhyā in Devanāgarī script.

53. Sītārāma śāstrī of Aniviḷḷa family and a resident of Kākarapartı, West Godāwarī District who lived during the last century wrote a "*Campū-rāmāyana*" which is said to be printed at Madras. (HCSL. by M. K. p. 517).

54. Sītārāma śāstrī of Laṅkā family a living author resident of Narsaraopet, Guntūr District, wrote "*Sītā-rāmāyanam*" in 6 kāṇḍas in Aśwadhāṭī metres. This is printed (1958) in Devanāgarī script along with a ṭīkā.

55. Subbaya Śāstrī son of Yajñeśwarasūri of Pulyala family wrote "*Rāma-kathā-sāraḥ*" in 7 kaṇḍas, (R. No. 2216, Tri. Cata. Vol III, Part I—A Madras). The date of the composition as given by the author is 20-4-1635 A D.

56. Sūrakavi (1275-1335 A D) father of Errā pragaḍa one of the three great poets who wrote Telugu Mahābhārata, composed "*Sankseparāmāyanam*" a small poem covering the whole story of Rāmāyaṇa (Printed in Bhāratī a Telugu Monthly, July, 1960—Madras).

57. Someśakavi of Viñjamūri family who lived during the middle of 18th century wrote a dvyarthī poem by name "*Yādavarāghavīyam*" in 15 sargas narrating the story of Rāmāyana in 6 kāṇḍas and the story of Śrī Kṛṣna found in the tenth skandha of Bhāgavata, at once. The author proposes to use only the words used by great poets like Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, and Māgha etc., and only those monosyllabic words mentioned in the Amarakośa. This was printed in 1950 in Telugu characters.

There might be some more authors whom I could not notice.

ABHAYATILAKA'S INTERPRETATION OF AN OBSCURE PASSAGE OF THE NYĀYAVĀRTIKATĀTPARYAṬĪKĀ

By

ANANTALAL THAKUR, Vaiśālī

In connection with the exposition of *aprāptakāla* (mistimed)-a point of defeat, Vācaspatimiśra in his *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā* quotes a verse-foot-*Kṛtsnāsadivādai abhūtadivā*.[1] It has neither been explained so far, not traced in any Pre-Vācaspati work. In course of our studies in the Nyāya literature we came across the quotation several times But it is in the *Nyāyālaṃkāra* of Abhayatilaka Upādhyāya preserved in Manuscripts in Jaisalmir and Surat that we find an explanation of the whole verse of which the passage under consideration forms a foot. We propose to present here the explanation in the context of references to and attempts at explaining it by reputed scholars.

Before coming to the passage, we want to add a few lines on the point of defeat, *aprāptakāla*. Akṣapāda defines this point of defeat as *avayavaviparyāsavacanam aprāptakālam* (Nyāyadarśana V. II. 11). The sūtra means to say that the propositions in a syllogistic reasoning should be arranged in a definite order. The *pratijñā* (thesis) should come first. The *hetu* (reason), *udāharaṇa* (example), *upanaya* (application) and *nigamana* (conclusion) should follow one after the other. In case this order is broken by either of the disputants, his adversary may point out this irregularity and the former will have to court defeat according to the Nyāya convention. The later literature on the *Nyāyasūtras* shows that several objections were raised against this point of defeat and the followers of Aksapāda tried to refute them by adducing fresh arguments. Uddyotakara, for instance answered three such objections put forward by the Buddhists.[2] In connection with the refutation of one of these objections, Uddyotakara adds-*Śāstre vākyāny arthasaṃgrahārtham upādiyante* meaning thereby that in the *Śāstras* the propositions are used to sum up the observed truths. Vācaspati in his *Tātparyaṭīkā* makes the point clear by drawing a line of distinction between Śāstric propositions and the propositions used in a debate. The veracity of the former, says Vācaspati, is already proved while that of the latter is subject to minute scrutiny. In the different forms of discussions and disputations—*viz. vāda, jalpa* and *vitaṇḍā* the language as well as the content of the proposition are equally examined. The argument of Vācaspati seems to

[1] *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā*, Cal. Skt Series edn. p. 1184. *cf. Ibid*, Chowkhamba edn., p. 715.

[2] *Vide Nyāyavārtika* V. ii. 11.

point out that the syllogisms of the contestants should be put in plain and unambiguous language and in their proper form as prescribed by Akṣapāda. It will note suffice if the import is intelligible to only a few as is the case in the Śāstras where sometimes laconic language is used for the sake of brevity and the meaning is learnt with the help of a teacher. Vācaspati in order to show an instance of a laconic Śāstric proposition quotes the verse-foot in question. The context clearly indicates that it has been taken from some reliable scientific work. That it is difficult to be understood by the average scholars is implied by Vācaspati. It came before many old Nyāya scholars who thought it either too familiar or too difficult to explain. As a result, readings have also become corrupt to defy the attempts of renowned traditional scholars to explain it. Thus the Chowkhamba and Calcutta Sanskrit Series editions of the *Nyāyavārtikatātparyaṭīkā* (NVTT) give the reading *Kṛtsnāsadivādarabhūtadivā*. A Calcutta manuscript reads *Kṛtṛrāsadivādaiabhrāt*. A manuscript belonging to the late Swāmī Viśuddhānanda Sarasvatī gives *Kṛtṛnāsadivādaiabhūtadivā*. The printed editions seem to inherit the reading from a manuscript preserved In the Sanskrit College Library, Vārānasī with which they are in complete agreement. The Jaisalmir Jaina Bhandar manuscript of the *Tātparyaṭīkā* consulted by us reads *ki ti rā sa divā da ra bhūta divā*.

This passage has been quoted or referred to by many followers of Vācaspati in the field of Nyāya-śāstra. Thus Udayana (c. 1025-1100 A.D.) in the *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa*[3] refers to it. But Vardhamāna Upādhyāya c. 1325 A D. in the *Nyāyapariśiṣṭaprakāśa* and *Anvīkṣānayatattvabodha* makes no mention of the passage. Varadarāja (c. 1150 A.D.) in his *Tārkikarakṣāsārasamgraha* syas that in case we use propositions with the apprehension of the existence of some meaning, one will have to allow sentences like *kṛtavāsadivādarabhūtadivā* in logical debates also[4] Jñānapurna (c. 1200 A.D.) on his gloss on the above confesses his inability to explain the passage. Cannibhatta and Rāmeśvara (14th cent. A.D.) in their sub-commentaries on this *sārasamgraha* are also silent on this point.

Traditional scholars of Vārānasī tried to explain the passage with suitable emendations depending, however, on their imagination alone. The late MM. Sudhakara Dvivedin connects it with Astronomy. He says that the astronomers regard the co-existence of Sunday with Caturdaśī (the last but one day of the lunar half-month) as very inauspicious and quotes *Śīghrabodha*, an astronomi-

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[3] एवं च व्युत्क्रमेणाप्यर्थप्रतीतिः, कृतृरासदिवादिवद् द्रष्टव्या । *Nyāyapariśiṣṭa*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, p. 102.

[4] अर्थप्रतीतिसंभावनामात्रेण प्रयोगाङ्गीकारे कृतवासदिवादरभूतदिवा इत्यादीनामपि प्रयोगप्रसङ्गात् । *Tārkikarakṣāsārasamgraha* III. 12.

cal work in his support.[5] On the strength of this evidence he seeks to emend the reading of the passage as kṛtyā sadivākarabhūtadivā, meaning thereby that the co-incidence of Sunday and Caturdaśī is very inauspicious.

The late MM. Śivakumāra Śāstrin assumes the reading *kṛtsnāsadivādarabhūtadiva* and splits the passage into two parts *kṛtsnāsad iva* and *ādarabhūtat iva*. The meaning according to him is as follows: "I agree with the Śunyavādin in the rejection of the external world. But with regard to the existence of knowledge, I follow the Naiyāyika who accepts the existence of both the inner and the outer worlds."[6]

Svami Viśuddhānanda Sarasvatī emends the reading and reads *kartari nāsadivādaro'bhūt tadiva* and adds an explanation also.

None of the meanings suggested satisfactorily fits in with the context. Fortunately for us the Jaināčārya Abhayatilaka Upādhyāya appears to preserve the correct reading and the proper explanation of the complete verse. This Abhayatilaka belongs to the Kharataragaccha and was the disciple of Śrī Jineśvara Sūri (1278 Sam.). Abhayatilaka was initiated at Jabalipura in 1291 Sam. and subsequently in 1319 of the same era was raised to the position of an Upādhyāya.[7] We quote his *Pañcaprasthānanyāyaṭikā* otherwise called *Alaṃkāra* here from our own press copy.

> *Ṭi(kā)yām—Kṛ tṛ rā sa divā da ra bhūta divā iti*
> *Śu ca rā sṭa divaika ra pūrna divā* ।
> *yadi candragatiś ca tithiś ca same*
> *iti viṣṭiganaṃ pravadanti budhāh* ॥

iti pādatrayam apaṭam.

arthasaṃgraha iti. kṛ Kṛṣnapakṣe *tṛ* tṛtīyāyām *rā* ratrau viṣṭih. tathā *sa* saptamyām *divā* viṣṭih tathā *da* daśamyam *rā* ratrau viṣṭiḥ. tathā *bhūta* bhūtāṣṭamyām caturdaśyām *divā* viṣṭih. tathā *śu* śucipakṣe *ca* caturdaśyām *rā* ratrau, *aṣṭa*

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[5] कृत्या सदिवाकरभूतदिवा इति पाठः । कृत्या घातिका इत्यर्थः ।
सूर्ये विशाखा भरणी ज्येष्ठे मैत्री मघा तथा ।
चतुर्दशी द्वादशी च विरुद्धा सप्तमे तथा ॥
इति शीघ्रबोधे दर्शनात् ॥ *Nyāyadarśana* CSS, F.N. p 1184.

[6] अहं बाह्यार्थासत्त्वोपपादने कृत्स्नासदिवास्मि । कृत्स्नम् असद् यस्य स कृत्स्नासन् शून्यवादी, स इवेत्यर्थः। यथा शून्यवादिना सर्वासत्त्वमुपपाद्यते प्रातीतिकत्वमुपपादयता, तथैवाहं बाह्यासत्त्वमुपपादयामीति यावत् । विज्ञानसत्त्वोपपादने तु आदरभूतदिव भवामि । आदरभूः स्वीकारविषयः, नतकृत्स्नं यस्य स आदरभूतन् , सर्वास्तित्ववादी नैयायिक इत्यर्थः । यथा नैयायिकेन बाह्यान्तरोभयसत्त्वम् उपपाद्यते, अनुभवमालम्ब्य, तथैव मया विज्ञानसत्त्वमुपपाद्यते इत्यर्थः । Ibid, F.N. p. 1184.

[7] *Kharataragacchabṛhadgurvāvali*, Singhi Jain Series, pp 49 & 51.

aṣṭamyām *divā*, *ekā* [ekā]-daśyāṃ *rā* ratrau, *pūrna* purṇimāyāṃ divā viṣṭir iti rūpah (sheet No. 908f).

Thus according to the passage quoted the foot in question belongs to a verse giving the definition of *viṣṭi*, a Karaṇa (astrological division of time).[8] It means to say that if the duration of the tithi coincides with the movement of the moon, the *viṣṭi* covers the day time on the seventh and fourteenth and the night of the third and tenth day of the black fortnight. In the bright one on the other hand, the fourth and eleventh nights as well as the eighth and fifteenth days are coverd by it. Abhayatilaka's explanation seems to be more convincing than any mentioned before. But as regards the source of the verse, Abhayatilaka also is silent. The definition of *viṣṭi* as given above agrees in full with that quoted in the *Jyotistattva* of Raghunandana Bhattacarya, the Bengal Law-giver.[9]

King Bhoja of Dhārā (1010–1062 A.D.) also knew the verse. He has quoted it in the *Rājamārtanda* along with another explanatory verse added to it[10].

The Jaina logician Abhayatilaka thus appears to have preserved the correct reading and the most plausible explanation of a verse with regard to which other known authorities are either silent or ignorant.

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[8] There are eleven *Karanas* viz *vava*, *vālava*, *kaulava*, *taitila*, *gara*, *vanija*, *vṣti*, *śakuni*, *catuṣpada*, kintughna and nāga. Two of these are equal to a lunar day.

[9] एकादश्याश्चतुर्थ्याश्च शेषार्धे शुक्लपक्षके ।
अष्टमीपूर्णमास्योश्च पूर्वार्धे विष्टिरुच्यते ॥
कृष्णपक्षे तृतीयाया दशम्याश्च परार्धतः ।
सप्तम्याश्च चतुर्दश्याः पूर्वार्धे विष्टिसंभवः ॥

ज्योतिस्तत्त्वम् ॥

[10] कृष्णे च तृ दशा रात्रौ दिवा सप्त चतुर्दशी ।
चतुर्थ्यैकादशी रात्रावष्टमी पूर्णिमा दिवा ॥

Rājamārtaṇḍa 1818, Venkaṭesvara Press.

Plate I—Siva Parvati from Peho

Plate II—Brahmā-Saraswatī from Pel

A STUDY OF TWO SCULPTURES FROM PEHOA

By

KISHORE KUMAR SAXENA, Kurukshetra.

It is mentioned in the undated Pehoa praśasti[1] (verse III) of Mahendra pāla 893-90 A.D.[2] that three sons of Jajjuka, a Tomara feudatory of Imperial pratīhāras founded at Pṛthūdaka, modern Pehoa in the District Karnal, (Pb.) a triple temple dedicated to Viṣnu. But the verse 22 of the above mentioned praśasti contains the usual wish for the long duration of the building and speaks only of a single temple. Buhler[3] has suggested that the structure was a triple temple containing three statutes united under one roof.

During the course of my recent explorations, I found two sculptures (plates 1 and 2) of Brahmā-Sarasvatī and Śiva-Pārvatī from Pehoa, now laying in the Institute of Indic Studies, Kurukshetra University, Kurukshetra which have thrown some light on the above issue. These sculptures were found laying beneath the trees. Enquiries from the people and the priests of a nearby temple revealed that they were found while digging the foundations of a house They failed to point out the spot from where they were collected. The sculptures were being worshipped by the local people. They are in a very good state of preservation.

Description of sculptures.

The measurements of the composite panel is 1'.3"×8" while the central figures in both is 7½"×5".

Śiva Pārvatī or Umā-Maheśvar. Plate I

Central figure

The right hands of Śiva shows a trident, Vitarka Mudra, the lower left touches Pārvatī's breasts, upper holding serpents. Śiva is seated over a Nandī put over an inverted lotus and Pārvatī is seated over the left thigh of Śiva. Śiva is having Jatā-Mukuta. Both the figures are having necklace, ear-ornaments. The above central figure is projecting out of the main composition. On borders of which are other carved figures. At the basis Makara, a lotus with a long stalk is issuing from the mouth of Makara or which stands a lady with a musical instrument in her hands. On the top are some flying figures of halfgods. On the right side of the composition at the extreme back is the broken halo. On the right side again is the cakra on which to the left are two broken fingers.

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[1] Epigraphy Indica, Volume I, p. 242.

[2] Ray H. C. Dynastic History of N. India, Vol. II, p 1145, Calcutta, 1936.

[3] E.I., op. cit. p. 243.

Brahmā and Sarasvatī, plate II

The central figure is three headed Brahmā with Sarasvatī seated on his left thigh, seated over an inverted lotus slightly projecting out of the main composition. In the upper right hand he is holding a ladle while lower hand is in vitarka mudrā. Lower left hand is on the breasts of Sarasvatī while the upper hand is holding a book. Brahmā is having a beard. Other features of ornamentation, drapery are same as described in plate I. However to left is a Gadā, attribute of Viṣnu. At the base of Gadā is a broken arm.

These sculptures of Śiva and Brahmā seem to be the upper parts on right and left of one composite sculpture of which main and central figure which should be of Viṣṇu, since the attributes cakra, gadā and halo are available on them, is missing. But the above-mentioned attributes of Visṇu makes it more or less certain. Since Viṣṇu is regarded as the most influential member of the later Brahmanical triad.[4] The exclusive spirit is more noticeable in late works as Nārada Pāñcarātra. It says no vaiṣnava should stay for a single day or take food and drink in a house or a village in which there are no images of Visnu [5] Huen-Tsang has also mentioned the prominence of vaiṣnava sect in this region in Seventh Century A.D.[6] I am inclined to place these sculptures in the last quarter of Ninth Century A.D. on the grounds mentioned below .—

Vaisnavism was very popular during pratihāra rule patronised by kings and people.[7] Nearly dozen temples are mentioned in inscriptions being dedication to this deity.[8] Moreover, these three gods were jointly worshipped in India.[9]

A study of these sculptures has revealed that they are of 9th Century A D. The figures are tense, subtle, dynamic and elusive filled with a primitive freshness and shows a happy blend of obstruction with warmth of feeling of formalism with luxuriance and execution with delicacy and charm. The plastic harmony and rhythm a characteristic feature [10] of early medieval period is clearly visible in these sculptures. The delicate contours of the feminine body, slender and long limbs remind one of the figure supposed to be of Rukmini found at Nakhas in Etah U. P.[11] (9th Century A. D.) and the minute execution of the

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[4] Banerjea, J. N. " The development of Hindu Iconography, p. 386, Calcutta, 1956.
[5] *ibid*, p. 395.
[6] Watters, Huen-tsang's Traveles in India. p. 315,. Delhi, 1961.
[7] Puri B N. History of Gurjara Pratihāra, page 139.
[8] E I. Vol. IX, p. 199.
E. I. Vol. XIX, p. 55.
Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol XIX, p 175, Calcutta, 1887.
Archaeological Survey Reports, Vol. XIV, p. 95, Calcutta, 1882.
[9] Havel, A hand book of Indian Art, p. 162, London, 1927.
[10] Mukerjee, R.. Flowering of Indian Art, p. 151,. Delhi-64
[11] *Ibid.*, p. 151.

sculptures with expressions and well-proportioned ornamentation are the remarkable features of these sculptures. The sensuous feeling, beauty and voluptuous elegance which culminated in Khajuraho sculptures of tenth and eleventh century A. D. can also be seen in them.[12] May it be that they represent an earlier stage of the tradition and trends which in evolution reached the zenith in coming centuries. Thus, safely and on firm grounds as mentioned above, it can be inferred that these sculptures are of the last decade of 9th century A. D.

Further I venture to say that the reference in the Pehoa praśasti, in the light of above data, of Viṣnu temple is not towards a single shrined temple in which one deity representing Brahmā, Viṣnu, and Śiva was worshipped. The indication (verse 3 of Pehoa praśasti, Vol. I, p. 242) is not towards 3temples as it is known that from the very beginning Brahmā did not enjoy any higher position in the Hindu pantheon. He appears to have enjoyed no success as a cult-god.[13] Shrines dedicated to him are very few and none in this region. Moreover 9th Century was the period of the fusion or rapprochement between two or three rival cults and the tendency of representing composite divinity was gaining currency. The epoch (6th to 13th Century A.D.) saw a synthesis an interpenetration of various religious and philosophical schools.[14]

Thus, on the basis of above evidences though circumstantial facts, may it be stated that these sculptures are parts of one composite sculpture with Viṣnu as main deity, which was enshrined in the temple. The description of which is recorded in above mentioned praśasti.

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[12] Sivaramamurti C. Indian Sculpture, New Delhi, 1961.
Compare—Plate 33
Plate 34
Plate 35
Krishandeva, "Khajuraho Temples", *Ancient India*, No. 14. New Delhi. Compare Plate XXXIX A

[13] Banerjee, op. cit. p. 158.

[14] Mukerjee. R., op. cit. p. 513.

A NOTE ON THE 'MAKARIKĀ' ORNAMENT

By

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Ancient Indian literature is exceptionally rich so far as the data pertaining to the material culture of the past is concerned. However, this literary data, right from the times of the Vedic Saṁhitas onwards, has not, to a large extent as yet, been corroborated by the find of or the sculptural representation of such items used by the ancient Indians.

The purpose of the present note on the *makarikā* ornament is to bring to the notice of Indologists one of the rare examples of the corroboration between literary, sculptural and archaeological data. *Dr. Agrawala* first pointed out that Bāna in his *Harsacarita*[1] frequently refers to the '*makarikā*' ornament. In explanation of the nature of this ornament, he states that it consisted chiefly of the motif of snouts of two *makaras* in addorsed position in combination with flowers and leaves. He further adds that this *makarikā* ornament is found generally depicted on the *mukuṭa* of Gupta icons.[2]

The illustration of this ornament as given by Agrawala supports his contention, as the sketch shows a pair of addorsed *makaras* emitting strings of pearls (*muktāphalāni*). At the centre of the pair of *makaramukhas* is the central gem of oval shape. The whole ornament is an important element of the *mukuta* (Fig. 3) *Agrawala* further observes that the *makarikā* ornament is generally associated with the *mukuṭa* and that the *makara* is also the decorative spout on numerous shapes of the Kushana and Gupta ceramic traditions. It also occurs as a forehead ornament when designated as '*sīmanta-makarikā*.'[3]

It may be pointed out that the *makara* motif did not restrict itself as an element solely for the head ornament. That this motif of the *makaras* emitting pearls was also used as the central pendent in a necklace is attested to by a beautiful torso executed in the best traditions of the Gupta idiom as reported from Mathura.[4] (Fig. 2).

That this ornamental use of the *makarikā* motif was not merely a fanciful literary or sculptural conception, that its use was not confined to the north and that it was also executed in terracotta by the less affluent classes is proved by the find of such an ornament in the excavations at Nevasa in district Ahmadnagar in Maharashtra State. (Fig. 1)

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1 Harṣacarita—Eka Sāmskṛtika Adhyayana, (Patna, 1953), p 14.

2 *Ibid.*

3 Agrawala, *Indian Art*, p. 328.

4 *Marg*, XV. No 2, p. 54, Fig. 18.

Fig. 1

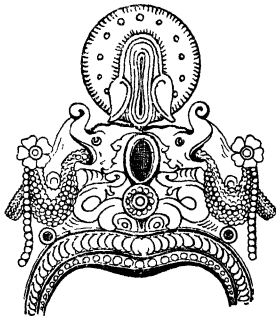
Fig. 2

The piece, found in the early Sātavāhana levels, measures 7 cm in maximum length and 3.4 cm in minimum breadth. It is fashioned in double mould and bears a smooth reddish slip. It has a central perforation through which was possibly kept in position the central gem or semi-precious stone. There is also a perforation horizontally to engage the stringed pearls on both the sides.

Archaeological, sculptural and literary evidence thus points to the use of the *makarikā* ornament right from the early Sātavāhana times to the period of Harshavardhana. As the evidences stand, however, it appears that of all the three, the archaeological evidence is the most important in the sense that it is relatively much earlier than the Gupta sculptural evidence the literary evidence as found in the *Harṣacarita* of Bāna. Moreover, if the date assigned to it is correct on the basis of the horizon of its location at Nevasa, then it points to the precedence of the *makarikā* ornament in the south when compared to the Gupta and post-Gupta date assigned to it in the north.

Agrawala points out that the "*makara*" was the symbol of Varuna's ocean...Its gaping mouth was the source of many kinds of meandering lotus creepers and rising lotus rhizomes and Yakṣas and Yakṣīs are shown struggling to extract jewels from its teeth."[5] This popular belief of the *makara* being the source of precious stones echoes itself in the medieval texts of the *Ratnaśāstras* as well. The Nevasa specimen along with the Gupta sculptural representation appear to give a material form to this old belief.

Fig. 3

Agrawala, *op. cit.*, p. 328.

INDIAN LANDLORDISM AND EUROPEAN FEUDALISM

By

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In an interesting paper on 'Quasi-manorial Rights in Ancient India,' published in the *Journal of Economic and Social History of the Orient*, Vol. VI, Part iii, 1963, pp. 296-308, Dr. Lallanji Gopal first points out that the ancient Indian cultivators were not tied to the soil like the European serfs and were in a position to settle in a different state and that this right is indicated by such medieval texts as the *Bṛhannāradīya Purāṇa* (assigned to c. 750-900 A.D.), Vidyākara's *Subhāṣitaratnakoṣa* (12th century) and the *Bāburnāma* (16th century). We fully agree with this view and may quote various other texts in its favour.

But Dr. Gopal then thinks that the *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā* of Siddharsi (906 A.D.) and a number of early medieval inscriptions indicate the existence of feudal serfdom and manorial villages in some parts of Northern India. In our opinion, this is due to misunderstanding of the evidence at our disposal. If Dr. Gopal's contention would have been correct, he would have found reference to the system in some other works 'in the entire range of Sanskrit literature.'

According to a story in the *Upamitibhavaprapañcakathā*,[1] the entire population of a city which was the *bhukti* of a ruler named Karmaparināma was thrown by the latter into cells and kept there for a long time. Another ruler named Sadāgama liberated some of the wretched people and settled them elsewhere, while Karmaparināma's sister brought some people from a different town to occupy the places vacated by those liberated citizens. Two things have to be noticed in this story. Firstly, Karmapariṇāma was an oppressive ruler and his tyranny, like that of such Kashmirian monarchs as Śaṅkaravermen and Harsa, cannot be regarded as the normal behaviour of ancient Indian rulers. Secondly, Karmaparināma's sister brought some citizens for setting them in another city not by compulsion but by persuasion and allurement. It can be easily done even today. Muhammadbin Tughluqshāh had apparently no proprietary right over the person of those citizens of Delhi, whom he took to his new capital at Daulatābād (Devagiri).[2]

The Nirmand plate of Samudrasena (8th century) records the grant of a village to a body of Brāhmanas together with its inhabitants (*prativāsi-jana*).[3]

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[1] XXXVIII. 87.

[2] For some of the Sultān s unnatural acts and the transfer of capital, see *Camb. Hist. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 136 ff

[3] *Corp. Ins. Ind.*, Vol. III, pp. 286 ff.

But the reference is no doubt to the fact that the villagers who so long paid taxes to the donor would henceforth have to pay them to the donees. The grant of a village realy means the transfer of the donor's revenue income, etc., from the villagers to the donees. The gift of a village without such income would be useless to the donee. 'Granting a village' and 'granting a villiage together with the villagers' really mean the same thing, and the latter certainly does not refer to the king's or landlord's proprietary right over the villagers' person. Because the donated land could be either inhabited or uninhabited, the grant of inhabited areas was sometimes stated to include the inhabitants (*i.e.* the right to collect taxes, etc. from them) specifically.

A Nanana plate of the 12th century records the grant or permanent allotment of certain persons (including songstresses, musicians and cultivatots) to a deity,[1] and Dr. Gopal thinks that 'these people were not slaves but independent persons'. There is however little doubt that most of them were slaves belonging to the well-known classes of *Devadāsa* and *Devadāsī*. There was (and still is at least in some parts of the country) another class of professional people, *e.g.*, the priests, barbers, washermen, carpenters, etc, who injoyed village land on the condition of rendering service to the villagers. Such people enjoying state land or common land of a village could of course be allotted to the donee, and the transfer would not indicate any right of the king or landlord over the person of the people since the families would cease to be under the obligation of rendering service whenever they give up the enjoyment of the property. They were therefore not tied to the soil in the feudal sense.

Sometimes agriculturist householders must have enjoyed state land or favours on the condition of working in the state farms or of cultivating state-land on the basis of a share of the produce Such cultivators could be allotted to the gift land since the state had a right over their services so long as they were enjoying state propeity, or favours. There is no question of the state having any right over their person if they did not sell themselves to the state and become slaves of the latter.

In the charters of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa, the grant of a village includes such subjects (*prakṛti*) as the weavers, milkmen, vintners, etc.[2] Dr. Gopal believes that these records point to the king's right over the persons belonging to certain occupations and crafts. But, in our opinion, the revenue income from the weavers, etc., was a monopoly and was not enjoyed by the non-privileged rent-paying landlords. That is why the State generally transferred its right in the cases of the donees who were privileged landlords. This is exactly

[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXXIII, pp 244 ff.
[2] Cf. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 216, Vol. XXIX, p. 8

similar to the transfer of the right over mango and some other trees in favour of the privileged tenants and landlords [1]

The grants of the Eastern Gaṅga king Narasiṁha II generally allot to a gift village a few persons called *prajā* or subject. In one such case, we have reference to the following persons attached to the village; a conch-shell worker, a banker or merchant (*śreṣṭhin*), a goldsmith, two oilmen, a milkman and a potter belonging to this market or that.[2] It is difficult to believe, with Dr. Gopal, that the king could have any right over the person of the bankers and merchants. Apparently, the revenue income of the said persons, who were not inhabitants of the gift village, was transferred to the donee in order to augment his income, otherwise, the merchants received certain concessions from the state and, in return, allowed themselves to be attached to the gift village or settled therein.

The Assam plate[3] of Vallabharāja records the grant of seven villages to an almshouse together with the inhabitants (called *jana*) as well as with five persons (called *sahāya* or assistant) who were given along with their wives or children. If the king had equal right over the person of all the inhabitants of the villages, it would be difficult to explain the separate mention of the two classes. It appears that the assistants were slaves or that their families were enjoying state land for rendering particular services.

The expression *sa-kāru-karṣaka-vaṇig-vāstavya* occurring in the Candella grants[4] means 'together with the houses or households of the artisans, agriculturists and merchants' and refers to the transference of the kings' right over the revenue income of the said classes of people in the donee's favour. Apparently certain classes of people such as the Brāhmaṇas were excluded from the transfer.

One set of the Anjaneri plates (8th century) states that a ruler first peopled a township and a few localities and then granted them in favour of a mercantile guild (*nagara*) headed by certain *śreṣṭhins*.[5] Likewise, an Eastern Gaṅga king of the 13th century granted to a Brāhmaṇa a township containing four palatial buildings and thirty houses inhabited by various citizens who included a number of merchants and people of different professions.[6] It is hardly possible to think that the rulers in these cases gave to the donees anything more than their income from the townships. The mention of the personal

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[1] See, *e g*, *ibid*, Vol XXIX, p 8, text line 42,
[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 190-91.
[3] *Ibid.*, Vol. V, pp 183 ff.
[4] *Ibid*, Vol XXXII, pp, 121 ff.
[5] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 237.
[6] *Ibid* Vol. XXVIII, p. 244.

names of the merchants and professionals in the Gaṅga record would suggest that they were recently and specially brought from other places to people the township in question.

The above discussion is expected to cover the various inscriptions cited by Dr. Gopal. He further says, "As regards the status of the men said to have been attached to the donee as a religious grant it is clear that they were not slaves but independent persons. They have also to be distinguished alike from serfs, if serfdom is conceived as a perpetual adherence to the soil of an estate owned by a lord. If performance of services for other persons is taken as the essence of the status of a serf, the men of our inscriptions may be described as serfs, but only in a restricted sense. The comparison is probably closed with the villeins of the European manorial system which is associated with dependence of a population on a ruler consisting not in ownership extending over persons not in contractual agreements, but in various forms and degrees of subjection, chiefly regulated by custom. We are not inclined to agree with this view.

In our opinion, the persons in question, in most cases, enjoyed state land on the basis of a contract and were not compelled to serve the king or landlord when they were pleased to give up the possession of the property. Their obligation and status were not the same as those of the serfs or villeins.

The Indian king or landlord of the early period demanded free labour from the subjects, and the charters creating rent-free holdings specifically state that the right to unpaid labour from the tenants was transferred to the donee who was himself exempted from all obstructions or troubles no doubt including the supply of free labour to the king. But the obligation was not of the feudal type since nobody was tied to the soil. Even in the late medieval cases in which the kings of a particular area donated land on the condition that the donee would supply forces at the time of war, the latter seems to have been under no obligation when he relinquished the property.

Indian landlordism is sometimes confused with European feudalism. While, in the feudal system, the king as the lord of all land gave big estates to the barons on the condition of receiving service and help from the latter on particular occasions, the Indian kings, whose claim of ownership over the land under permanent tenants was never real, mostly created small estates in favour of Brāhmanas and religious institutions, and it was usually stated in clear terms in the charters that the donees were exempt from all obligations. Indeed, the donees of the majority of the Indian land grants were utterly unsuitable for offering military assistance to the donors who avowedly created the free holdings only for religious merit and fame. Thus *feudalism* is a misnomer in the Indian context.

THREE TEMPLES OF RANAKPUR

By

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Rānpur, Rānakpura or Rāmpura, to mention all the three names by which the place is known, is celebrated, not merely as one of the *pañcatīrthas* of the Jainas, but as a place where a Jaina cathedral (25° 7'N and 73° 28'E) of the *sarvatobhadra* type exists. Sadly however since James Tod, and following him Fergusson and others have noticed this unique but very late temple, no one has cared to discuss the other antiquarian remains of the place except D. R. Bhandarkar, when he was Assistant Superintendent of Western Circle.[1] In fact there are three other temples, two Jaina and one Hindu. The Jaina temples are to the front of it; and the temple of the Sun is to the south of it. Like all Rajasthani temples, they have been repaired no doubt, but, with older materials, possibly in the reign of Mahārānā Kumbha. Yet, their sectarian, architectural and sculptural qualities are undeniable.

The temple dedicated to Supārśvanātha, the seventh *tīrthankara* calls for our attention. The temple now has a modern peristylar *mandapa* in front, an incongruity which could have been avoided. The *śikhara* which is of the Gujarat type is a later addition, from *varandikā* downwards the sanctum belongs to c. 15th Century A.D Locally it is known as *Pāturiyom-kā-mandira* (the temple of the prostitutes), because of the erotic sculptures occurring on the exterior walls of the *garbhagṛha*. Folk tradition states that the Somapuras (or the craftsmen), who erected the *sarvatobhadra* temple, were also responsible for the erection of this fane. During their leisure hours, they carved these sculptures showing various sexual postures

Personally, the present writer feels that this shrine is yet another proof of now exploded theory of Fergusson, that in ancient and mediaeval India, architectural style was divided according to religion or creed. Occurrence of erotic sculptures at Khajuraho, Un, Bhubaneśvar and Ranakpur etc, shows that architects and craftsmen were the same, irrespective of the sectarian affinities of the structures.

The *śikhara* was erected in the 15th century while the *mandapa* was probably added in the 18th century. The *śikhara* consists of a *mūlamañjarī* (the main tower) and *urah-mañjarīs* (the minor towers). The corners have *karṇaśṛngas* etc. On the *śukanāsā* is the couchant lion (śārdula) overlooking the modern additions. Above the *janghā* the *mūlaśikhara* raises its elastic body

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[1] AR , of the Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1907-08, pp. 58-59.

silhouetted against the sky. The pile and mass of such structures are well-known to us from Khajuraho and Bijolian etc.

It was a *nirandhāra prāsāda*, that is a shrine without a *pradakṣina* in the interior. The mouldings of the socle (*adhiṣṭhāna* or *vedibandha*) are restrained, but, above it a magic of forms and chiaroscuro breaks up in a gorgeous fantasy. It is the same with all projections (*rathas* and *salilāntaras* (recesses). Above we have in horizontal bands *apsarāsas* playing on flute and *mrdaṅga*, dancing; flanking *mithuna* couples, on *rathas* and *kinnaras* and *siddhas* within pillared niches. Sometimes with *vyālas* intervening, in the recesses we notice other figures in all their clan : women playing balls, holding mirror, etc. *Haṁsa-mālā* occurs over a band of *Kīrtimukhas* within rectangular fields, surmounted by *yakṣas* and *yakaṣinīs*. Above them, is a decorated torus (*kumuda*) moulding and *chādyās* with dentils.

The temple of Naminātha (fig 1) the 21st *tīrthankara*, is similar in style. It has also a modern *mandapa* and *antarāla* with a domical roof and the *garbha-gṛha* surmounted by a plain *śikhara* of the Gujarat type ; with the exception, that no erotic sculptures are found on the exterior of the sanctum. We have identical *surasundarīs* on pedestals in various moods, the rampant *vyālas* on the *salilāntaras* and figures of *dik-pālas* in the corners.

The third temple, dedicated to Sūrya, faces east and stands on an elevated *adhiṣṭāna*. It was also a *nirandhāra prāsāda*, and contained a *mandapa*, an *antarāla* and a *garbhagṛha*. The roofs of the *ardha-mandapa* and the *mandapa* have fallen, but the *śikhara* stands (fig 2). The door of the *ga bhagṛha* is an ornate one. Framed by the *śākhas* (jambs) of the sanctum door-way is seen the *vigraha* (cult image) of the sun god. The iconestasis of the twin river-goddesses, *Gaṅgā* and *Yamunā*, is absent on the door-way, which shows images of *dvāra-pālas* or door-keepers and possibly *Danda* and *Pingala* on either side. These in their respective niches are far better in quality than the rest, which generally consist of conventionalized vegetal motifs with two of the *śākhās* containing images of the sun god in superimposed compartments.

On the *lalāṭabimba* of the doorway, occurs the image of Gaṇeśa, flanked by figures representing *navagrahas*. Above these, on *uttarāṅga*, we find Śiva in the centre, on his right is Brāhmī (?) and Brahmā and on his left Vaisnavī (?) and Visnu. Between Śiva and the goddesses on either side are sculptured two elephants, fighting with each other. The sanctum also has a loose image of a goddess with two hands, holding a *pātra* and a lotus stalk.

In front of the *śikhara* is a *śukanāsā*, surmounted by a vacant pedestal. All the traditional components of the śikhara are present. The sweeping curve of the *mūlamañjarī* is clustered by the *andakas*, *urah-mañjaris* flanked by *karna-mañjaris*, and *nastaśṛngas*. The main tower is of the *spata-ratha* variety. But it

lacks the concord, elegance, grace, and compact mass that characterized the texture of *śikharas* in earlier periods. There is no co-ordination between the masses.

The exterior of the sanctum is not merely ornate, but the design is original. All the *parivāra-devatās* are made to stand on seven prancing horses (fig. 3). They consist of images of Bramhā, Śiva, Sūrya, the eight *dikpālas* and *navagrahas*. Thus in our illustration we have on five *rathas* from extreme right *Ravi* and Indra holding *Kamandalu ankuśa* and *Vajra*. While the fourth hand is in *varamudrā*. Fifth is Agni holding *kamandalu* etc., with a ram below. The third and fourth figures are possibly those of Yama and Varuna. The horses of Sūrya are spirited. The figure of *Nirrti* occurs on the north-western corner, near Ketu, riding a man (*naravāhana*) She holds in her six hands ladle, a mace and a rosary (in right hands); and conch and discuss in two left hands while the remaining one hand is open.

The date of these temples depends upon an appreciation of the cultural phase they represent. Stylistically, the sancta which were not rebuilt are distinguished by certain characteristics. The accent lies not on the verticals, as in preceding epochs, but on the horizontals, which are emphasised by *mekhalās* and *antarapattas, pallavikās*, deeper incisions on the columns, projected angles and recessed corners, light and deep shadows, ornaments undercut, which commenced as early as C. 9th century at Badoli. The decorative ornaments, are bizarre indicating rich development undoubtedly, but, also betray formalization of the traditional aesthetic expressions of the bygone ages In Rajasthan, there grew, in the late mediaeval period, a rich art, drawing its inspiration from the past, under the leadership of Mewar

The mediaeval society of the 13th-15th centuries was secular, oligarchic, and its centres were the headquarters of the feudal princes, who sat down to re-erect new homes, on the rubble and shambles of their classical heritage, after 1193 A D. The leading classes consisted of the feudal houses of former rulers, or local leaders claiming divine origin, along with rich caravan leaders and *śreṣṭhins* mostly Jaina in religion They established themselves, at the expense of the aboriginal peoples like the Bhils, the earlier settlers like the Yaudheyas, as in Bikaner, or the Minas as in Bundi and Kotah. The muslim inroads caused much destruction. When more settled times came, many of the enlightened princes tried to repair and rebuild.

The most prominent of these was Rānā Mokal (C. 1397-1433 A.D.) and Rānā Kumbha (C. 1433-68 A.D.), whose revenues were augmented by find of silver and lead mines in Mewar. The objective of the first effort was to repair the shrines desecrated in C. 1303 A.D., by Alauddin Khalji at Chitorgarh. Along with this princely patronage, religious leaders and influential ascetics, carried on minor repairs, as we learn from *ex-voto* records at Menal, Bijoliya,

Fig 1 The temple of Neminatha with modern additions Ranakpur

Fig. 2. The temple of Sun, Rānakpur (side view).
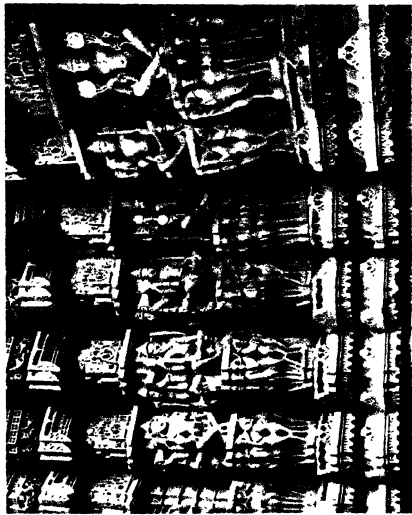
Fig. 3. The images of *dikpālas* on *rathas* with Surya Temple of Sun. Rānakpur.

Tilasama and Ramgarh. The movement reached its climax in the succeeding reign of Mahārāṇā Kumbha.

The school is characterized by absorption of many important elements of Indo-Islamic architecture, while retaining Pre-Islamic columns, brackets, lintels, balconies and sculptures in exuberant quantity. In fact, the style was sculpturesque and not sculptural. The result of this absorption and assimilation was, that a new style emerged, using both Islamic and Pre-Islamic forms, members and elements. Sculpture was formalised and simplified; and was garbed in contemporary costumes, as we find in the *Kīrtistambha* of Kumbha, at Chitorgarh.

The foregoing analysis enables us to evaluate the date of the temples at Rānakpura. The *sarvatobhadra* temple was erected in V.S. 1489 (=1432–33 A.D.), by a rich Jain, a householder named Dharanaka and his relations. The temple of Supārsvanātha and Naminatha are also of the same age. The *Chaumukha* shrine has *Saracenic* domes on the top, which was the result of the activities of Mokal and Kumbha. All doubts are set at rest by the inscription, which specifically states that the cathedral was erected when Mahārānā Kumbha was reigning. Stylistically, the temple of the Sun belongs to the group of Jaina temples but it is slightly earlier. The date of the Jaina temples, is C. 15th century A.D. They were desecrated probably in the reign of Aurangzeb, or later. While therefore the nucleus belongs to C. 15th century, the later additions are modern. Morphologically the sculptures are very important and bear striking resemblance to the paintings of early Mewar and Malwa schools. The Sun temple belongs to C 13th century A D., but its present *sikhara* was erected in 15th century A D

Conclusions

This brief study is not concerned with all the political concepts, spiritual ideas and popular beliefs of a resurgent Rajasthan, in the 15th century A.D.; but is an attempt at evaluating their achievements or failures, in a forgotten corner of old Jodhpur State. The burden of proof is naturally upon any one, who endeavours to trace the development of an architectural ideal from monuments; particularly its symbolic intent. The reason is that this architecture was not created merely for utilitarian and aesthetic considerations.

In dealing with the buildings of Hindu revival, initiated by Rānā Mokal and continued by Rānā Kumbha, there has been a perverted tendency to disregard political issues, involved in the art; and to underestimate the spiritual, mystic and aesthetic expressions as non-essential; with the result that our efforts at an evaluation have become vague. The buildings grew out of contemporary notions and ideals. But, there is no yardstick to measure these, since, we have no means to know, what they were, except to repair and to reconstruct. Divorced from the originating ideas, the buildings become arti-

ficial. Yet, it is undeniable, that the patrons were motivated by showing the omnipotence of the heavenly powers, by grandure of the monuments, by means of architectural forms and design, which today, we take for lifeless continuity, or imitation of conventional expression without a soul. It is also undeniable that totems, masks, the menhirs, the dolmens or the mound of stones, had in primitive and illiterate minds, a deeper significance, nay symbolism; which integrated society and people.

Therefore early Mewar, finding a situation, where not merely brave hearts, but unity of people was essential, to stave off the inevitable crisis, initiated a propaganda to impress the people. It was a pre-Islamic symbolism. Both epigraphic and architectural references clearly indicate that some antiquarian studies seem to have been made in Mewar court, and the revival was cultivated by every means at its command and was motivated by ideas to invigorate and to nourish the flagging zeal of the masses; based upon impermanent victories in a ceaseless fighting for existence. The symbolism in mediaeval temples has been classified by Dr. Kramrisch in her '*Hindu Temple*''. The idea was the mystic intent to express the invisible by the visible. Between the age of Khajuraho, Badoli, Ramgarh and Menal on one hand; and Rāṇakpur, Chitorgarh etc. on the other hand, there is a big hiatus—a chasm filled with ashes, loot, arson and rapine. One may therefore, pardonably question, "How far the original symbolism survived from 12th Century onwards, when the expansionist zeal of the Turki crusaders of Islam, like the Mameluke, Khalji and Tughluq dynasties destroyed much that were valuable?

The admitted indebtedness of early Indo-Islamic art to Indian craftsmen and engineers, was in the territories occupied by Islam. The puzzle however is resolved by the idioms and architectural expressions. If we recall the temple of Tejaḥpāla at Mt Abu, or the temple of Chidambaram, famed for their intricate decorative sculptures treated with admirable delicacy in marble or granite, do we not meet with the identical *apsarasas* playing *mṛdangas*, *vīṇā*, looking at mirrors, juggling with balls or dancing? We have the same drum player on the *Kīrttistambha* of Kumbha, at Chitorgarh; with the label "*Mṛdaṅginī*" in mediaeval Nagari below The delicate treatment of tracery, in their rich ornamentation, the horizontal courses of decorative motifs on superimposed registers upon registers, show a community of conception and design between Chāhamāna Paramāra and Solaṅki arts on one hand and late mediaeval art of Mewar on the other. These temples and the tower of victory, were the only concrete objects, comprehensible to common man, the *ab-origine* Bhils, Bāgḍis etc., symbolizing the might and superhuman authority of heaven, resurrected by their prince after defeating and withstanding the invaders.

The applied sculptures have values of their own. What we are shocked to find is that, unlike the aesthetics of a people, who were just emerging from a

primitive stage, driven to an inhospitable region for the sake of survival; the plastic activity, is not characterized by a rude untutored vigour; but, distinguished by a polish, rather than power. It is delicate in sentiment and refined in language. What is more, they possess a individuality, as portraits of souls within the limits of personality. Distance modifies apparent dimensions of objects; and their size changes according to the inverse ratio to their distance from the observer. The architects were well aware of these and they made their art 'conceptual' rather than optical. Secondly, they adhered to the oriental treatment of relief, which abandoned gradations of planes, in favour of contrasting light and shade, and depending for effect on solemn monumental attitudes and poses, combined with formal groupings.

The history of Indian art, in reality, is the art of relief carving subservient to architecture. In the same way, the revival of architectural and plastic activities in Mewar, is merely a closely drawn network of *basso relievos*, distinguished by homogeneity of style. It was in fact, the formal language of the stone cutters (*Somapuras*) and methods to achieve plastic forms. A partiality for full or three quarter profiles, exceptionally vigorous line drawings, powerful story, sensuousness and rhythm in design, are some of the qualities that make themselves evident. A softer and plastic linear form, a meticulous care for decorative details, a lyrical treatment and a secular grandure are the other features The design was mainly linear and consisted of sculptures on base or top of pillars, on the exterior of walls of the *garbhagriha* or as brackets to the exquisite domical ceilings. But these isolation of applied figures, far from destroying, integrates design. Though the style was jejune, the content and subject matter were indeed rich

The art of Rana Kumbha's period, does not reflect the troubles and anxieties of the age But pervaded by a gaiety of the truly devout and carved with mastery and brought to an extra-ordinary finish, they lack in vitality. The monumentality of the sculptures is too evident to need any emphasis. Light and graceful, remarkable for elegant contours, the contrast between not too broad shoulders and attenuated waists, the academic and traditional gestures, emphasize the roundness of form admirably conceived and executed in high relief.

The other outstanding qualities are their primitive sincerity, robustness and virility, not sacrificed for refinement and over-sensitiveness of style. Notwithstanding its indebtedness to an antique tradition, they were not mere copies. Subtle differences make that point abundantly clear. The art of the century, for all its derivations, possessed an individual character, not only in style but also in themes. It depicted secular subjects with interests in actuality, for which no incident seemed too trivial. At the same time it displays cold formalism.

VIṢAYAS—POLITICAL DIVISIONS DURING EARLY CHĀLUKYAN KINGS OF VĒNGĪ

By

T. V. G. SHASTRI, Baroda

Introduction :

The land adjoining the eastern coast of India is archaeologically rich and very little attempt is done in tapping its potentialities which would unravel the mystery of ancient past. We have enough surface evidences, besides plenty of materials deposited in various museums. Some ancient copper plate grants alone have supplied enough material to form a complete chronology of a powerful *Cālukyan* kingdom on the east coast of India, during seventh century A.D. Besides the grants have supplied data of various territorial units into which the kingdom was divided. As the kings successfully completed their military campaigns they issued grants to the learned *brahmanas* from their *Skandh-vara*[1] (military camps). It is these grants that were helpful in building up chronology, and the details of the divisions, into which the country was divided into manageable units to facilitate probably effective administration. Carefully examining these grants, one comes across several names like *rāstra*, *visaya*, *nādu*, *nivartana* and *kandiga*, while giving the exact location of a particular village to specify its position to the grantor. Some names like *rāstra*, *nādu*, *kandiga*, are popular even today.

Most peculiar among these names is *visaya* These are probably smaller units like the districts of the present day in one *rāstra*. However, eastern *chālukyan* grants, give the name of *rāstra* along with the *visaya*. *Vēngī mandala* of the east chālukyan kings has been divided into bigger units of *rāstra* and *viṣaya* while the smaller units are *nivartana* and *kandriga*. A few *kandrigas* of land was probably a *nivartana*. The *kopparam* plates[2] of Pulakesin II, give the name of *nivartana* containing several *kandrigas* of land.

Ancient India was full of villages, and such villages were probably grouped into one *viṣaya*. A village when granted to a *brāhmana* free of taxes was treated as an *agrahāra*. Such *grāmas* were associated into several *kandrigas* of land. Some of the ancient names, peculiarly survived even today We do not know much about the township in this region. However, a densely populated modern

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[1] Skandha-vara is a popular usage in early inscriptions and grants The peculiar custom of granting villages from the victorious camps to the *brāhmanas*, shows their high status, they enjoyed in society.

[2] Epigraphia Indica—Vol XVIII.

town like *Bezawada*, finds reference in eastern *chālukyan* grants. *Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana's* queen *Ayyan Mahadevī*, gave *Nadumbi vasati* as charity to the Jaina monks at *Bezawada*,[1] Addānki inscription[2] gives the reference of *Kandukūru*, which was made as famous as *Bezawada*, by his commander *Pandaranga*, *Guṇaga Vijayāditya*.

The copper plates grants issued by the *Chālukyan* kings, give the names of several *viṣaya* units. How these units suddenly became popular in this area, and who introduced this *visaya* division are questions that are worth investigating.

2. Viṣaya, its origin and use :

The word *viṣaya* is derived from the verb '*Vis*' in Sanskrit to mean 'act'. It means the sphere or the influence of activity. Finally it came to be used in the sense of a territory, region or district. In the usage of *Manu* and *Mahābhārata* it is the period of duration. In *Rāmāyana*, *viṣayapati* is used to denote the lord of a particular country or kingdom, *Kathā-sarit-sāgara*, used the word *visayādhikṛta* for the governor of a province. According to D. C Sircar *Puṣkalavati*—a town was situated in *Gāndhāra* viṣaya.[3]

General reference to viṣaya units.

In Northern India, *visaya* units were introduced to denote some important districts In the Mauryan times, the political divisions were *bhukti* and *pradeśika*.[4] These were probably bigger units along with *rajjuka* and *rāṣṭra*. However, no reference was made to *visaya*. But later on during the Gupta times, they were mentioned in copper plate grants, and other inscriptions.[5] There are references of disagreement between a *visayapati* (Governor) and a record keeper *pustapāla*, regarding the sale of a land. In the region of *Mahārājādhirāja Dharmāditya*, *Mahārāja Stānudatta* was the governor of the province of *Navyāva kāśika* and at that time one *Visayapati—Jujjuva*, was administering the state business.

One important event that should be remembered, at the time of the Guptas, was the conquest of southern states by *Samudra Gupta* (Circa 350 A.D.) The states on the eastern coast representing the present coastal districts of Āndhra Pradeśa, were invaded by him. The Allahabad pillar inscription gives the names of the states of kings, that were subdued Twelve kingdoms were

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[1] N Venkataramanayya—The Chalukyas of Vengi—Page 63.

[2] Epigraphia Indica—Addanki Inscription of Vijayaditya, Vol. XVIII, Page 27

[3] D. C. Sircar—Geography of ancient and medieval India, Page 217.

[4] In Asokan rock edicts, we have references to the division of the kingdom into various political units, and the officers governing them one yona Rajah—*Tushaspha*, was the governor of *Saurāṣṭra*

[5] S. K. Maity—Economic life of India in Gupta period—P 57.

said to have been conquered in the south, out of which four may be said on the east coast with certainty. The corresponding kings were *Mahendragiri* of *Piṣṭapura*, king *Damana of yerandapalli* (*Yērandapalli* in *Viśakhapatnam* district) *Hastivarman Śālankāyana* of *vēngi* and *Ugrasēna* of *Pālakka*[1] (Nellore region). Though they were defeated, they were allowed to retain their independent status under the sovereignty of *Samudra Gupta*. This event had taken place more than two hundred years, prior to the conquest of vengi by Chalukyas.

It becomes clear from the earlier inscriptions, that *viṣaya* (division) does not occur either in *Śātavāhana* records or those of later independent rulers of coastal Āndhra. In third cent A D, a *Bṛhatphalāyana* king *Jaya Varman*, records the grant of a land in favour of a *brāhmāna*, through his governor at *Kadurāhāra*[2]. It is an *āhara*, probably an *agrahāra* but no mention is made about district in which it was situated. Other earlier inscriptions also show that *viṣaya* division was not introduced in South India. During the time of the *Śālankayans* of *Vēngi*, we have seen that there was the invasion of Samudra Gupta. Since Gupta regime in the north was stable, the independent rulers of the east coast might have possibly adopted, the nomenclature of northern India political system. This view is supported by the grants issued in *Kalinga* and *Piṣṭapura* prior to the appearance of Chālukyas on the east Roughly during circa fifth cent A.D. we know that kings *Śaktivarman* and *Ananta Śaktivarman*,[3] who were initially kings at *Piṣṭapura* donated some villages to the *brāhmana* in *varāha vartini visaya*.[4]

Thus, the word *visaya*, appears to have been in vogue prior to the conquest of *Vēngi* by eastern *Chālukyan* kings The whole coastal strip came under their sway by circa 630 A.D. *Pulakesin* II of the original *Chālukyan* line initiated the campaigns from *Kalinga* on the east. Slowly with the help of his younger brother *Kubja Visnu Vardhana*, he conquered *Pistapura*, *Vēngi*, and a few southern regions. Later, *Pulakesin* left the conquered regions to his brother who finally became the founder of *Chālukya* line on the east coast. Following the system prevailing previously during the reigns of independent rulers, Kubja Viṣṇu Vardhana might have adopted the *visaya* system.

[1] According to Shri B V Krishan Rao (Dynasties of Andhra Desa) four kings, Mantaraja of *kurala* (probably near vengi) *Swami datta* of *Kottūra* (Visakhapatnam district), *Nilarāja* of Avamukta (Probably between Vengi and Kanchi) also belong to coastal Andhra Pradesh.

[2] This is also a grant similar to the later grants of eastern *Chālukyan* kings It was also issued from the military camp. But this does not give any indication of political divisions of the country

[3] *Viśākhapatnam* district was originally *varāha Vartini visaya*. Very common names of the people like *Varahālu*, *Varāhalamma*, today suggest their hoary antiquity.

[4] R. Subrahmanyam—Andhavaram plates of Andhra Saktivarman Epigraphia Indica—Vol. XXVIII 32 P. 231-177. H. Venkatramayya—Madras Museum plates of Anantaśaktivarman XXVIII 39 P 231

Early Chālukyan Grants and Chronology :

Copper plate grants, from *Chīpurupalli*, *Thimmapuram* and *Kopparam*, in *Viśākhapatnam* and Guntur districts, were dated to the reign of the first king *Kubja Visnu Vardhana* circa 624 A. D. The villages mentioned in the first two grants were *Kalavakonda*, *Kummalūru* in *Viśākhapatnam* districts. According to the plates, the villages mentioned were located in *Dimili* and *Palaki Viṣaya*. *Kopparam* plates from Guntur district, give the name of the village *Irubuli* located in *Karma rāṣṭra*. Thus in the three grants we have reference to two *visaya* and one *rāṣtra*.

Viṣnu Vardhana-I was succeeded by his eldest son *Jayasimha I*, who reigned for nearly 32 years. Five important grants dated to his reign give the name of four *viṣaya* units. A grant from *Polumbūru* in West Godavari district, refers to the village *Polumbūru*, in *Gudda Vādi Visaya*. *Pedamaddāli* plates give the name of a village *Penukupaiu* in *Gudrahāra viṣaya* [1] Dr. Venkata-ramanayya, identifies this region with *Nuzvid* and *Gudivāda* talukas of Kristna district. The *Nidumarru* plates from Guntur district give the name of the village as *Nidubarru* in *Ganderuvāti visaya*.[2] A village called *Kombarru* was located in *Kentheru visaya* according to *peda vegi* plates. The name of village *Pippatla* located in *Kanthēru visaya* was found on a stone inscription picked up from the village *Vipparla*, dated to the reign of *Jayasimha* but no reference to *viṣaya* is made According to Dr. Venkataramanayya, Mroparam grants give the name of a district mentioned as *Chennūmpalli Visaya*. *Jayasimha* was succeded by his brother *Indrabhaṭṭāraka* who is said to have ruled only for seven days. During his short reign, a brāhmana named *Chendi Śarman* was given a village called *Konda nagur*. But the grant has not given any indication of the visaya in which it was located

The next king that ruled Vengi was *Viṣnu Vardhana II*. He ruled for a period of 9 years from circa 673-681 A D. At least three visayas are clear from his plates of *Pantimukhala*, *Reyuru* and *Pallivada* in *Varanandu visaya Karma-rāṣṭra*, and Gudrahara visaya. Ipur plates refer to the donation of a house side, and a flower garden at a village called *Kommaru* in *Plonandu Visaya* (near Pithapuram).

Mangi Yuvaraja succeeded his father Visnu Vardhana II, in 681 A.D. He ruled for a quarter of a century. *Chendaluru* plates, refer to a village called *Chandaluru* located in Karmarāṣtra. A copper plate grant from *Edurandalapalem*, gives the names Bonda north in *Pagunuvara viṣaya*.

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1 We cannot venture to discuss much on the evolution of modern names from ancient forms, through a district like *Gudrahāra* suggest a likelihood of its modern form as *Gudivāda*

2 The district was referred to *Ganderu* viśayam in Niduparru grants of Jayasimha I.

Thus during early Chālukyan rule of nearly 85 years, we come across more than ten viṣaya units.[1] They cover the entire range of coastal Andhra (Guntur, Kristna, Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts). Karmarāṣṭra, which was popularly mentioned has at least three viṣaya associated with it. They are *Kanterm, Ganderuvati*, and *Chennurupalli*.

Corresponding to the region of Kristna district, the ancient visayas were *Gudrahara* and *Varanandu*, possibly west Kristna and east Kristna. *Guddevada* and *Pagunuvara* visaya, cover Godavari district. The ancient visaya Palaki and Dimili refer to Viśakhapatnam district.

The eastern Chālukyan grants do not give the names of officers who had governed the viṣaya divisions. There is no reference to *Viṣayapati, Viṣayādhipati*, or *Visayadhikṛta*, as we see in Gupta grants. But the village officers were styled as *grāmanī*[2] or *grāmeyaka*. Other official heads employed in the state were *Manneyas*. These were probably revenue officials who were granted a few villages in lieu of salary due to them for *mannēya* duties. A late Chalukyan king *Śaktivarman* dismissed a village official for acts of high treason.[3]

Conclusion:

In conclusion, it may be said that the division of east coast into visaya units, was an adaptation of northern Indian system. Prior to Chālukyas in the east, there was the viṣaya division in northern India, quite popularly under Guptas. At the time of Skandha Gupta, there was the city of *Indra Pura* in *Antaravedi viṣaya*, (circa 477-500 A.D.). one Koteswara visaya was said to have been situated in *Pundra Vardhana Bhukti*.[4]

The viṣaya division of early independent kings of *Kalinga* and *Piṣṭapura*, possibly suggest the impact of invasion of Samudra Gupta, on the eastern states. We have seen the corresponding reference to them in northern India also. The Chālukyan kings might have found the division convenient for collection of *manneya duties*, and affective check up, as observed previously during the time of late Chālukyan king *Śaktivarman*.

Though the usage of the word was not popular during the later Chālukyan times, the *viṣaya* system was not entirely given up

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[1] See the statistical chart at the end.

[2] Grāmaṇis were very important officials in ancient India. According to Śukra *Nītisāra* there were to be six officers in the villages They are *Sahasadhipati, Gramanētara, Bhāgahāra, Lēkhaka, Sulkagrāha* and *Pratihāra*.

[3] This paper is entirely based on the facts given in the book "Chalukyas of Vengi" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.

[4] D. C. Sircar—Geography of ancient and medieval India—page 193, 217.

During the coronation of Chālukya Bhima, circa 814 A. D a village was granted to a *brāhmaṇa*, *Pottamayya*, in *Kanderuvati visaya*. At the time of Amma II, circa 950 A. D. villages *Arumalaka*, and *Intūru*, in *Velanadu viṣaya* were given as gifts to *brāhmanas*.

Rāṣṭra is the most ancient form of political division which was associated with the kingdoms. Kalinga rāstra, *Vēngi rāṣṭra*, denote the kingdoms themselves. *Nāḍu* appears to be another political division quite popular at the time of Pallavas. *Pallava Nādu*, or Palanādu, of Guntur district is the ancient name which we use even today. The names *velanādu*[1] *Varanāndu-viṣaya*, seems to be a combination of *nādu* and *viṣaya*. Since this region was occupied by early Pallava kings, prior to Chālukyas, both the epithets *nādu*, and *Visaya* were probably mixed in this word.

This little account given above is incomplete, if it goes without any second significant meaning of the word *viṣayas*. It becomes more apparent by addition of the word *vāñchā* that gives the meaning of appetite for sex, when properly used in its full form as *visaya vañchā*.

[1] The present sects in various brāhmin groups of east coast like vēgi nādu, muriki nādu, kāsara nādu, velanādu, etc., are possibly derivations from brāhmin strong holds in various districts of ancient Andhra.

Statistical Chart of the Grants Issued by Early Chalukyan Kings of Vengi

King	Date	Plate	Ancient village	Visaya	Modern name	Reference
	Circa A.D.					
1. Kubja Visnu Vardhana	624-641	(a) Kopparam	Irubuli	Kammarāstra	Guntur District	E.I. XVIII 360
		(b) Chīpurupalli	Kalavakonda	Dimili	North Visakha-patnam	E.I. XVIII 315
		(c) Timmapuram	Kumaluru	Palaki		
2. Jayasimha I	641 673	(a) Pulimburu	Pulomboru	Gudivada	West Godavari	F.I. XIX 254
		(b) Pedamaddāli	Penukaparru	Gudrahāra	Krishna	I.A. XVIII 137
		(c) Pedavēgi	Kombirru	Kantheru	Guntur	E.I. XIX 258
		(d) Nidumaru	Nidubarru	Ganderuvāti	Guntur	E.I. XVIII 55
		(e) Stone inscription	Pipparla	—	Guntur	S.I. VI 584
3. Vişnu Vardhana II	673-681	(a) Pamidimukkala	Pantimukku	Varanādu	Krishna	E.I. XVIII 14
		(b) Rēyūru grant	Reyūru	Karma rāstra	Guntur	I.A. VII 186
		(c) Mattevāda	Pallivada	Gudrahāra	Godavari	I.A. VII 192
4. Mangi Yuvarāja	681-705	(a) Chenda'ūru	Chendawra	Karmarāştra	Ongole (Guntur District)	E.I. VIII 236
		(b) Madras Museum plates	Nutalaparru	Do	Guntur District	I.A. XX 104
		(c) Edavādalapālem	Bondaganorthi	Pagunavara	Bhīmāvaram	J.Tel. ant. 135

A FRESH ESTIMATE OF EARLY ARAB INVASIONS OF INDIA

By

NISAR AHMAD, Varanasi

After the death of Hazrat Muhammad Sahib, his successors tried their level best to extend their powers over all the parts of the world. With the great zeal, and excellent military organization, the Muhammadans attained equally rapid and brilliant success everywhere. Therefore within eight years they subjugated Syria, Egypt, North Africa and Persia. The Muslims, after subjugating Iran, casted their eyes over its neighbouring territories, and therefore, Kābul, Zābul, and Sind became the chief objective of their expeditions

The first expedition on India was made in the time of Umar.[1] Usman, son of Abinal-Āsī, incharge of Bahrain and Umān, despatched an army to Tānah (Thana) in 637 A D.[2] Probably, it was sent to get all the informations regarding India's conditions. But the army was not sufficient for a distant march, as we know from the letter of Caliph, which was written to the governor of Bahrain. "O brother of Sāqif, thou has placed the worm in the wood, but I swear by God, that if our men had been killed, I would have taken (slain) an equal number from your tribe".[3] The letter indirectly suggests that this troop came back without getting any disastrous failure, too

When they returned, Hakam, the brother of Usmān, who had been placed incharge of Bahrain, despatched force to the bay of Debal under his brother Mughira and he proceeded himself to Barauz (Baroach),[4] about 643 A. D., according to Futuhul—Buldān. But Chāch-nāma says that the leader was killed by the governor of Chāch[5] Elliot[6] and Majumdar[7] on the basis of the

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[1] During Umar's Caliphate, Arab raids were directed against the coast of India

[2] Elliot and Dowson say that Umar was not consulted for the expedition, (Elliot and Dowson, *History of India as told by its own historians*, Vol I p 415)

[3] Yā akhā Sagif hamalta dūdan 'ālā' ūdin wa innī ahlafu billāhi illau usibbū la adhaztu min gaumika mr lahum

[4] M A Ghani says that they were the groups of traders, (not the forces for expedition), sailed for India from Bahrain arrived at Thana (Bombay) Broach and Debal, where some skirmishes were fought with the natives, but none was undertaken either for conquest or was authorised by the Caliph "The advent of the Arabs in Hindustan", Proc All Ind. Orient. Con. x p. 404. But as the hypothesis does not hold any solid evidence, cannot, therefore, be accepted.

[5] *Futūhul-Buldān*, trans Maududi (Urdu) pt. II p 176

[6] *Chach-nāma*, trans by Ali bin Hamid bin Abi Bakr-al-Kufi p 72-3

[7] Elliot and Dowson, *op cit.*, p. 416, Majumdar, R. C "The Arab Invasion of India", *J. I. H.* Vol X, Sup. pp. 28-9.

latter work postulate that the Muslim arms met with the disastrous results which were undertaken during the Caliphate of Umar. However, we know that the first expedition could not gain any appreciable success, but for the second, it can be said that it is very difficult to reach on any definite conclusion when we have different types of statements.

Shortly after, Abu Musa-al-Ashasī, who had been one of the Companians of the prophet, was appointed governor of Irāq (Basarah). According to Chāchnāma and Futuhul-Buldān, Rabī bin Ziyād Hārisī[8] was sent to Makarān and Kirmān. Baladhuri also states about another expedition, which was despatched towards Khurāsān, under Abdullāh bin Budīl,[9] who conquered Kirmān and Tabasīn.[10]

The Caliph also asked the governor of Irāq to send him a detailed information regarding Hind. As the Arab forces failed in getting any triumphal success in their expeditions, as they had in the other parts of the world, he wrote in reply to say, that King of Hind and Sind was powerful and by no means willing to submit to Muslim domination. Thereupon the Caliph gave the idea of sending any expedition against India.[11]

In the year A H. 28-9 (A.D. 649-59), Abdullāh bin Amīr a young enterprising military chief was appointed governor[12] of Al-Basarah by the Caliph Usmān[13] Abdullāh made some conquests in the lands of Fars (a province in the south-east of Persia), raided Khurāsān, advanced upto Oxus (pp. 15 off.).[14]

While proceeding from Fars to Khurāsān in A.H. 30, he deputed one of his lieutenants ar-Rabi to Sijistān (Seistān). Ar-Rabi after conquering al-Faharaj, made an assault over the fort of Zaliq The chief of the fort was arrested, but was released, after taking a lot of money.[15] Abu-Ubedah says that the chief proposed to accept a treaty, as had been made for the cities of Fars and Kirmān[16] He, vanquishing to the natives of Karkuvyah and Hesun, marched to Zaranj, where he defeated all the principalities including Zaranj. The people of Zaranj fought to the great enthusiasm, but after some times, they surrendered to him. At last, defeating Al-Qaritain[17], he returned to Zaranj, where he remained for two years (p. 143). Abdullāh appointed a man of the

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[8] Hāris is the name of the tribe.

[9] I avoide to use the long titles of the Arab chiefs as given by Balādhurī.

[10] Maududi, *op cit*, p. 129.

[11] Elliot and Dowson, *op cit.*, p 416.

[12] Maududi, *op cit*, p 129.

[13] It is also written as Uthman

[14] The page references within brackets are of Murgotten'trans. of Balādhurī, Vol-ii.

[15] See Maududi, p. 113, for a detailed description

[16] *Ibid*, pp. 113-4.

[17] *Ibid*, pp. 113-15

Hāris tribe for the post of governor of Sijistan, but the people expelled him from the city. After that Abur-Rahmān was sent to Sijistān.[18] The new governor is said to have established his rule over the territory between Zaranj and Kishsh of the land of Al-Hind and over that part of the region of the road of Al-Rukhaj which is between it and the province of Ad-Dāwar (p. 143).

Thus the Arab force proceeded towards India along the Helmund river and came into conflict with the Indians near modern Rūdbār on the frontier between modern Afganistan and Baluchistan. Their first triumphal career led them as far as Bust, Ibn-Samurah, after conquering Ad-Dāwar, says Al-Balādhuri, entered in a temple of Zur (Surya), He took out the jewels from the image and cut off a hand of it. But, the gold and jewels were retuned by him, saying to the astonished governor of the place, ' I only wanted to show you, that it had no power to harm and help. '[19] But the progress of the Islamic forces seems to have stopped here, apparently due the disturbances in the head-quarter during the Caliphate of Usmān. A friendly agreement was made with Bust and Zabulistān, but its terms are not mentioned (p. 144). Then Abdur-Rahmān ibn Samurah retired to Zaranj. But shortly after, he left for Sijistān, placing it in charge of Umair, but the people of Zaranj expelled Umair and closed the town (p. 144). Thus Muslims lost almost all that they had.

Usmān gave an order to send an expedition to get all the information regarding India. Abdullāh detached Hākīm bin Jaballa al-Abdī to explore Sijistān and Makarān as well as countries bordering on the valley of the Indus,[20] but it appears that Hākīm reported so unfortunately of the vast region which he examined, that all idea of making conquest in that direction was abandoned. " Water is scarce, the fruits are poor, and the robbers are bold. If few troops are sent there they will be slain ; if many, they will starve. "[21] To hear this statement, he gave up the desire or despatching the army towards India.[22]

When the next Caliph Ali had consolidated his position, he made renewed efforts to re-establish the power of Islam in Sijistān and succeeded in recapturing Zaranj (p. 145).

During his Caliphate, Hāris led an expedition in A. H. 38 or a little later than it. He was successful in the venture and collected a handsome booty. This above fact has been described by Al-Balādhuri[23] Chach-nāma, however, remains silent about this expedition, but it mentions about one more, which

[18] Majumdar says that Ar-Rabi was succeeded by Abdur-Rahman

[19] Maududi, *op cit.*, pp. 115-6.

[20] Elliot and Dowson, *op. cit.*, p 421.

[21] ماؤ ها وشل وشمر ها وقل ولصها بطل ان قل انالعسں عصا ضاعواد ان كدروا حاحوا

[22] Maududi, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[23] *Ibid*, pp 177-8.

had been despatched in the leadership of Tāghar bin Dā'ir. Though Hāris was included in this expedition, but the leadership was assigned to the above general. The brigade reached to Kaikān or Kaikanan via Bahraj and Koh-Pāyah. They were checked by the people at Kaīkān or Kīkānān who were not less than twenty thousand. But when the Arab shouted out 'Allāhuakbar,' and their voices re-echoed from the hills, to hear these shouts of triumph, the people of Kaikān were confused. Therefore they surrendered themselves, some of them came forward and embraced Islam and the rest fled away with fear. At this hour of victory, a bad news reached to the Muslims regarding the murder of Ali and therefore they decided to go back.[24] Probably it took place in A. H, 40 just before the death of Ali. Dr. Majumdar considering the Arab invasion of India, has very erroneously concluded that Haris led only one expedition [25] This, however, is proved by Balādhuri that he led two independent expeditions one in A. H. 38 and the other in A. H. 42,[26] besides some more in the leadership of Tāghar. Balādhuri says that the first expedition was most successful, while about second of Haris he states that almost all excepting a few were killed. Dr. Majumdar has taken the expeditions, described by Chach-nāma and Balādhuri as one and the same. He states that Chach-nāma seems to evade the facts as it is based on the authority of Amir, son of Hāris, son of Abdul Khais, while according to Balādhuri Hāris was himself the leader of the expedition. The son of the defeated leader naturally suppressed the inconvinient details.[27] Balādhuri clearly says that Hāris was the leader of the first expedition, the leadership of second was entrusted with Tāghar as it is clearly stated in Chach-nāma.[28] So the natural argument arises that why Amir, who had no relation with Tāghar evaded the facts about the expedition. Other fact is that the name of Hāris's father mentioned by Balādhuri is Marrah-al-Abdī,[29] and not Abul Kais. This also goes against the contension of Amir's evasion from the facts. This shows that Hāris and Amir of Chach-nāma has no relation with the each other, and so Amir's father Hāris may be taken as different person from the General Hāris. Thus we can say that during Ali's Caliphate two expeditions were sent over Sind, one in A. H 38 and the other in A. H. 40 under the leadership of Hāris and Tāghar, respectively, and both of them met with success. Dr. Majumdar quotes the version of Al-Balādhuri that the leader of the Muslim host was killed together with all but a few of his followers, but he (Balādhuri) is actually referring to Hāris's second expedi-

[24] *Chach-nāma*, pp. 76-77.
[25] Majumdar, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-30.
[26] Maududi, pp. 176-8.
[27] Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 30.
[28] *Chach-nāma*, p. 76.
[29] Maududi, p. 177.

tion which was led, not in the time of Ali, but in the Caliphate of Mu-āwiyah, in 42 A. H. = A. D. 663). Therefore it can not be said that the expeditions sent in the time of Ali met with disasterous results.

However all these expeditions were like the storms and they could not throw any solid influence on the Indian soil.[30]

[30] The topography of the locality is fairly well known and Le Strange has made a critical geographical study of these in The Lands of Eastern Caliphta Therefore it has not been discussed here.

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REVIEWS

Kālidāsa: His Style and His Times by S. A. SABNIS, Published in 1966 A. D. by N. M. TRIPATHI Private Ltd., 164, Princess Street, Bombay-2. pp. viii + 480. Price Rs. 25 (In India).

Scholars, both oriental and occidental, have acknowledged Kālidāsa as the greatest of the Sanskrit poets. It is quite natural; for his works have stood the rest of Time and have satisfied the literary taste of people of all ages and climes. The literary merits of his works and faithful representation of Indian Culture and ideals will always attract readers of different temperaments. The present volume by Śrī Sabnis is an instance in point.

Śrī Sabnis, although a solicitor by profession, had a fascination for ancient literature. The work is the result of his deep life-long study of Kālidāsa's works.

The work is divided into 25 chapters. The first 9 chapters deal with the date of Kālidāsa and the 8 works, among which *Śṛngāratilaka* is included. The chapters on the different works give summaries, act-wise or canto-wise as the case may be, and delineate some of the characters, but contain hardly any critical or original comments on the art of Kālidāsa. The question of authorship of *Kumārasambhava* is not dealt with; he says that cantos 8 to 17 evince an inferior craftsmanship; but curiously enough he accepts them as Kālidāsa's work while collecting social data. He does not adduce any argument for including *Śṛṅgāratilaka* among Kālidāsa's works

The next 16 chapters deal with social conditions and traditions, ideas and ideals, religion and mythology, wars and weapons, of Kālidāsa's age, and also flora and fauna and geographical condition as depicted in his works. In two chapters he has pointed out poetical excellencies (mostly figures of speech) as well as defects.

At the end of the work, a long index, running over 32 pages is added, which enhances its usefulness : but no bibliography is given.

The author has kept himself away from the controversial points like the date, birth-place and number of works of Kālidāsa, although he has referred to the different views about Kālidāsa's time and shown his preference for the first century B. C. theory. He has added some new arguments, such as the absence of the mention of ' saptapadi ' etc., in its favour.

The author supports his statements and findings by appropriate profuse quotations from the works of Kālidāsa. But whenever works of or quotations from other authors are cited, he makes no mention of their edition or their

source (*e. g.* footnote no. 52, page 383). A reference to a grave mistake, that has crept in, needs mention. The author ascribes *Kathāsaritsāgara* to Guṇāḍhya and *Bṛhatkathā* to Somadeva (vide page 3 and page 250) !

The work is more of a descriptive rather than critical nature. It is more of the type of a collection of data of social, political and religious conditions in Kālidāsa's time, rather than a literary estimate. Sufficient care should have been taken here to sift out facts from the mixture of fiction, mythology and past traditions. For example, the Śaṁbūka episode is taken to show that in Kālidāsa's times a Śūdra's penance was considered responsible for the ills of society (page 100). It is doubtful whether such a conservative attitude prevailed in Kālidāsa's time. History, on the other hand, shows that the age of Kālidāsa was an age of assimilation of religious beliefs. In the section on penance (page 169), the author appears to thrust the hoary past on Kālidāsa's times.

Some new findings by the author need mention here. He says that in Kālidāsa's works, there is no reference to '*saptapadī*' (p. 115), no reference to '*somapāna*' by the Brahmins (p. 133) and no mention of nose-ring (p. 155). The author without any argument in its favour notes that " Kālidāsa appears to support the *Viśiṣṭādvaita* doctrine" (p. 290). This is an anachronism.

Quality of paper and printing is good, but a few proof mistakes have crept in.

Thus, although the work contributes little to the critical estimate of Kālidāsa (the author lays no claim to deep scholarship or original research– preface p. v), it is certainly useful as a collection of varied social and cultural data scattered in Kālidāsa's works.

R. H. GANDHI

Land System and Feudalism in Ancient India, Ed. by D. C. SIRCAR, University of Calcutta, 1966, pp. 139, Rs. 7.50.

The monograph under review incorporates in its hundred and odd pages the proceedings of a Seminar held at the Calcutta University under the auspices of its Centre of Advanced Study in Ancient Indian History and Culture, in the third week of December 1964.

It will be readily agreed that studies in epigraphy are on the wane these days. As such, it was encouraging to read the proceedings of the Seminar, though they pertain to the specific problems of land system and feudalism as reflected in the epigraphical, literary and historical data. An admirable attempt has been made here to co-relate these with the result that the picture presented is by and large comprehensive.

The account of the proceedings consists of two parts. The first deals with the problems of land system as revealed mostly in the epigraphical data, ownership of land and lastly the nature of land system based on the literary data. The second part which is more formidable than the first, deals with feudalism, landlordism, feudal economy, growth of the feudal complex, origin of feudalism in India, and comparison between medieval Western feudalism and ancient Indian landed economy. The whole discussion is wound up by a paper envisaging the broad features of the politico-economic history of ancient India.

Of the three articles in the first part dealing with land system, the one by Sircar displays wealth of information and ingenious interpretations. His discussion of numerous technical terms like *bali, bhāga, kara, deya, meya, pranaya-kriyā.*, etc, is thorough. He has brought under the ambit of his survey epigraphical data of several dynasties. However, it could have been a better treatment had the learned scholar given more specific references in the course of his discussion rather than " a Śaka ruler of the Nasik-Poona region " (p. 18), or " a Sātavāhana epigraph " (p. 17), or " certain East Indian epigraphs of the Gupta age" (p. 14). Though Sircar wants us possibly to refer to his other publications (p. 23) for amplification, at least more precise reference could have facilitated easier checking of the original sources.

Singh has admirably marshalled his arguments in favour of royal ownership of land in the Vedic period But it is difficult to agree with him even in his hypothetical suggestion that royal ownership of land in India may be as old as the days of Harappa and Mohenjodaro. (p. 25). Even his theory of royal ownership of land in the Vedic period conflicts with the views of Keith and Macdonnel. Incidentally it may be stated that this is the only paper in this section which gives precise references The third paper dealing with the land system in ancient India, though in good Sanskrit, does not inspire any critical comment.

The second part of the book is more comprehensive and displays a wider spectrum of thought. Incorporating seven papers dealing with origin, development and form of feudalism in India, the section reveals a better presentation. Of the seven papers, two deserve special attention. Sircar points out in his paper that a differentiation has to be made between landlordism and feudalism. The absence of the creation of a great baron, the absence of the feudal type of obligations and the mobility of the tenants are the points which he forcefully argues. This view meets an indirect corroboration in the paper by Mitra who points out that " the rich vocabulary of Sanskrit language does not give us any expression which conveys the idea analogous to the term feudalism ". (p. 56). As against this, Yadav discusses the growth of feudalistic set up especially in the post-Gupta period of Indian history. Some interesting observations regarding

the pressure on land in India are set forth by Chatterji in his paper entitled "Aspects of Politico-Economic History of Ancient India."

It will be agreed that no finality in any view is expected in such discussions inspite of voluminous epigraphic and literary data. The organisers themselves must not have aimed at it either. However, we should be grateful to them for trying their best in focussing the attention of the scholars on the problems of land system and feudalism in India in the ancient past, through a very useful and comprehensive discussion made available in print, equipped with an adequate index and cogent summaries of the points raised in the course of discussion on papers.

S. B. DEO

Light On Early Indian Society and Economy by Prof. RAM SHARAN SHARMA, Bombay, 1966; pp. 1 to 168: Price Rs. 22-50

The work contains twelve articles, termed chapters, some smaller, others bigger, representing occasional studies in social and economic life of early India. Chapters five and nine are review articles of '*L' esclavage dans l'Inde ancienne d'apres les textes palis et sanskrits*' of Dev Raj and '*Economic Life of Northern India in the Gupta period A. D. 300-500*' of S. K. MAITY. Chapters one to six are studies in social order and chapters seven to twelve discuss economic problems connected with ancient Indian Society.

In chapter one we get an account of studies, carried on by different scholars from eighteenth century onwards, of Indian social order The author points out that such studies concentrated mainly on social aspects of caste and race. With the impact of British Culture the study of ancient Indian Society was carried on largely against the background of the necessity of social reform. Favourable aspects of early Indian Social life were emphasised leading to the neglect of the study of the position or Śūdras, women and untouchables. Gradually, however, with agro-economic concept of the study of history coming into prominence several writers like Kosambi and Walter Ruben emphasised that study of history meant, "the presentation in chronological order, of successive developments in the means and relations of production." Prof. Sharma suggests that the materialist conception of history and attempts at its study should also find a place in the study of ancient Indian social order.

In chapter two the author summarises known ideas about traces of promiscuity in Indian Society. In chapters three and four similar ground is covered as regards notices of women and Śūdras during the Vedic and Epic periods. The recurrent theme of these notices has been the treatment of women and Śūdras as chattel. In chapter six the author discusses the four forms of approved marriages and four other forms of unapproved marriages, in relation to four

varṇas. He bases his conclusions on statements in the Mahābhārata, the Dharmasūtras and the Smṛtis. Incidentally he notes some ideas about *niyoga*, widow-remarriage and the period of waiting for a wife in the case of the absence of the husband for a long time.

In chapter seven, the longest in the book, Prof. Sharma gives a survey of the economic history of ancient India, covering a period of about three thousand years. In this long history he has marked certain well defined stages *viz.* the urban economy of the Harappa culture, the pastoral and plough cultivation economy of Vedic times, the use of iron, the rise of towns in pre-Mauryan times, the Mauryan state control of all sectors of economy, the thriving trade with the Roman Empire in post-Maurya times and the rise of local units of production. This survey refutes the wrongly helo notion that in India there has been practically no change in the means of economic production for more than two thousand years.

Chapter eight tells us about irrigation in Northern India during the post-Maurya period. The details refer to tanks, ringwells, canals, lakes and so on. The information regarding the construction of these, distribution of water, water-cess and so on is based on archaeological evidence. A comparison of this with irrigation facilities offered by Chola rulers in South India would have been interesting.

In reviewing Dr. Maiti's work, in chapter nine, Prof. Sharma should not have been aplogetic in pointing out an important omission as regards the discussion of population problems, for, in a so called affluent society that the Gupta period was, problems concerning population must have created important reactions in different directions.

Prof. Sharma has pointed out the importance of land grants in chapter ten. He brings together different points regarding genuine or forged grants, their purpose, their nature, dues to bepa id and so on. Of particular interest are the Gahadawala grants which mention peculiar words exciting the curiosity of the philologist. The landgrants are of particular interest in understanding the transfer of agrarian rights, ownership of land, and organisation of agricultural production, land measurements and crafts.

Chapter eleven gives us a very interesting account of usury in Early Medieval India. The account has gathered important information about interest, their rates, distinctions of caste in the levying and payment of interest and bodily interest. The idea of bodily interest opens for us new fields of research in slavery in ancsient and medieval India. This paper will surely stimulate further research in this direction.

Prof. Sharmsa's ability in drawing our attention to 'Gaps in the non-political history of Northern India' is clearly witnessed in chapter twelve. He

discusses what are generally known as ancient and medieval periods of Indian history and emphasises the responsibility, on the part of the academic circles in Indian Universities, to take up a graded study and research of various socio-economic problems which cropped up during the early beginnings of the medieval period. Howsoever we disagree, as Prof. Sharma does, with the contention of Vincent Smith that the death of Harshavardhana in A.D. 647 set in the process of decline in Indian history, Prof. Sharma's discussion furtheron amply proves the importance of this period for a socio-economic study based on inscriptions which are mostly land-grants issued by feudatories of Guptas in the North. Prof. Sharma points out that the beginnings of a feudal way of life ushered in new socio-economic processes. These processes can be studied with the aid of land-grants sculptural, architectural and numismatic data, the rise of the new Indo-Aryan languages, agrarian system, ownership of land, establishment of fiscal units, brahmanisation of the aboriginal areas and the centrifrugal processes set in by the Brahmin culture in the form of the disapproval of *niyoga* and widow-remarriage, the beginnings of child marriages and *Sati* and the working and maintenance of Mathas and temples. An interesting aspect of this type of study would be the synthesis or otherwise of the Śaiva, the Vaiṣṇava and the Tāntric cults of Hinduism, their impact on architecture and sculpture and how far the feudal lords were responsible in catering to the erotic sculpture which became the order of the day in Orissa.

Prof Sharma should be congratulated on giving us a balanced study of some important socio-economic problems of Indian history and adding to the pioneering work of Fick and Kosambi.

J. M. SHUKLA

Śuddhādvaita-Puṣṭimārgiya-Saṃskṛta Vāṅmaya, Vol. 2 in Hīndi by Paṇḍita Kaṇṭhamaṇi Śāstrī, Vidyāvibhāga, Kānkarolī (Rājasthāna) and published by himself as 31st Puṣpa in Śrī Dwārakeśa grantha-mālā, pp. 1-262, 1965. Rs. 5.

The book under review is the honest and sincere attempt of the author Paṇḍita Kanthamani Śāstrī, one of the eminent Paṇḍits of Śuddhādvaita philosophy, to give a trustworthy and systematic account of almost all the available published and unpublished-literature on the Śuddhādvaita philosophy in two volumes, the first of which deals with only the first chapter on Pramāṇa literature and has already been published two years ago. The present volume deals with the remaining three chapters on Prameya, Sādhana and Phala-literature on Śuddhādvaita Puṣṭimārga.

The author is fully justified in saying that the present work introduces the intelligent reader to the Śuddhādvaita Puṣṭimārgīya Sanskrit literature for further study and research, since the account of almost every Sanskrit standard work

included in this volume is enriched by the author's own analysis of the textual subject and comments along with a list of published and unpublished literature on it, which considerably facilitate the reader's task of understanding the heart of Puṣṭimārga.

The detailed expository notes, comments and profound observations, especially on such difficult texts as Sarvanirṇaya-nibandha, Patrāvalambana, Prasthānaratnākara and Prameyaratnārṇava in the Prameya chapter, the lucid and brilliant critical analysis of the Ṣoḍaśa granthas in the Sādhana chapter and the minute study of terms like Sevā, Bhāva and Bhāvanā in the Phala chapter reveal the author's wide and deep erudition coupled with critical insight, originality of thought, sincerity of devotion, maturity of understanding of standard works of Śuddhādvaita literature and vastness of interpretative scholarship. The author is thoroughly at home in all the important and difficult texts of Śuddhādvaita literature and as such has furnished valuable information about the works of the various authors, which will be of great value to the students interested in research in the field of Śuddhādvaita literature.

The distinguishing feature of the work is the judicious use of quotations from the texts under study, which makes it authoritative and useful.

The detailed list of available published and unpublished literature on each topic under discussion, the elucidatory foot notes and the alphabetical index of the authors referred to in the work added at the end, no doubt, enhance greatly the value of the present work as an important reference book.

No such adequate account has appeared as yet. The motive underlying the formation of chapters and the method of presentation are commendable.

I heartily congratulate Paṇḍita Kanṭhamaṇi Śāstrī on this substantial and scholarly contribution to the printed Śudhdādvaita literature.

I recommend this book to all interested in the study of Śuddhādvaita-Puṣṭimārgīya literature.

H. C. MEHTA

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